Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology

Bridging the 'Great Divide'

Edited by
Nigel Spencer

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TIME, TRADITION AND SOCIETY IN GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP (TAG)

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Edited by Nigel Spencer

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To Jan and Rachel

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General editor's preface

Why does Classical archaeology need theory? The purpose of the Theoretical Archaeology Group series is to answer the question by showing that archaeology contributes little to our understanding if it does not explore the theories that give meaning to the past. The last decade has seen some major developments in world archaeology and the *One World Archaeology* series provides a thematic showcase for the current scale of enquiry and variety of archaeological interests. The development of a theoretical archaeology series complements these thematic concerns and, by focusing attention on theory in all its many guises, points the way to future long-term developments in the subject.

In 1992 the annual Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference was held in Southampton. Europe and the world of archaeological theory was our theoretical theme at this EuroTAG conference. We stressed two elements in the structure of the three-day conference. In the first place 1992 had for long been heralded as the time when the single market would come into existence combined with moves towards greater European unity. While these orderly developments could be planned for and sessions organised around the role of archaeology and the past in the construction of European identity, no one could have predicted the horror of what would occur in former Yugoslavia. Throughout 1992 and beyond, the ideologies of integration and fragmentation, federalism and nationalism vied with each other to use the resources of the past in vastly different ways.

The second element recognised that 1992 was a notable anniversary for theoretical archaeology. Thirty years before, Lewis Binford had published his first seminal paper, 'Archaeology as Anthropology', in *American Antiquity*. This short paper was a theoretical beacon in an otherwise heavily factual archaeological world. From such beginnings came the influential processual movement which, in its early years, was referred to as the New Archaeology. Thirty years have clearly knocked the shine off such bright new futures. In the meantime archaeological theory had healthily fragmented while expanding into many areas of investigation, previously regarded as off-limits to archaeologists and their mute data. Processualism had been countered by post-processualism to either the enrichment or irritation of by now partisan theoretical

practitioners. EuroTAG marked the anniversary with a debate involving the views of Lewis Binford, Chris Tilley, John Barrett and Colin Renfrew, supplemented by opinions from the floor. Their brief was to outline the theoretical challenges now set before the subject. The audience heard various programmes of where we might go as well as fears about an uncertain theoretical future. Both optimism and pessimism for another thirty years of theoretical excitement were to be found in almost equal measure. However, the clear impression, exemplified by the number of people, almost eight hundred, who attended EuroTAG was that the strength of any future theoretical archaeology now lies in its diversity.

How different this was in numbers attending and diversity of viewpoints from the early days of TAG, an organisation whose aims have always been simple: to raise the profile of discussion about the theories of the past. The need for such a group was recognised at the first open meeting held in Sheffield in 1979 where the programme notes declared that 'British archaeologists have never possessed a forum for the discussion of theoretical issues. Conferences which address wider themes come and go but all too frequently the discussion of ideas is blanketed by the presentation of fact'. TAG set out to correct this balance and achieved it through an accent on discussion, a willingness to hear new ideas, often from people just beginning their theoretical careers.

EuroTAG presented some of the influences which must now contribute to the growth of theory in archaeology as the discipline assumes a central position in the dialogues of the humanities. As expected there was strong participation from European colleagues in sessions which focused on Iberia and Scandinavia as well as discussions of the regional traditions of theoretical and archaeological research in the continent, an archaeological perspective on theory in world archaeology, the identity of Europe and multicultural societies in European prehistory. Set beside these were sessions devoted to the theories of managing archaeology, visual information, food, evolutionary theory, architecture and structured deposition while historical archaeology argued for an escape from its subordination to history while classical archaeology embraced theory and applied it to its rich data. Finally, the current issues of value and management in archaeology were subjected to a critical examination from a theoretical perspective.

Nowhere was the polyphony of theoretical voices, issues and debates more clearly heard than in the session devoted to world perspectives on European archaeological theory. While EuroTAG was a moment to reflect on the European traditions and uses of theory, a comparative view was needed if such concerns were to avoid the call of parochialism. Here at the heart of EuroTAG was an opportunity to see the debate in action – not as the preserve of individuals, but as a dynamic answer to the question of why does the world need archaeological theory.

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The EuroTAG organising committee consisted of Clive Gamble, Sara Champion, Simon Keay and Tim Champion. They were helped by many staff and students from the Department of Archaeology at the University of Southampton and particularly by Cressida Fforde and Olivia Forge who did the lion's share of the organization in the final days. Thanks were also due to Peter Philips who videotaped the debate and to Mike Corbishley, Peter Stone and Eric Maddern who organized videos and storytelling while the art of Carolyn Trant and Sylvia Hays provided the art exhibition. Financial support came from The Prehistoric Society, the TAG travel fund, Oxbow Books, Routledge and the University of Southampton.

Clive Gamble
July 1994

FOREWORD

The field of Classical archaeology holds a very special place within the wider discipline of archaeology in general. Its subject area is, of course, unique but that is a claim which could, in a sense, be made for the archaeology of every region and period of the world. But Ancient Rome and especially Ancient Greece naturally have a much greater claim upon our attention, for we are all the inheritors of that tradition which follows them, if only because we are all today inhabitants of that 'global village' created by modern communications and high technology which are themselves the beneficiaries of the scientific revolution that developed upon the heels of the Renaissance. We are the inheritors of the Classical world, whose study naturally holds a special significance for us, even if our cultural and genetic roots may not lie exclusively in Europe.

Classical archaeology, moreover, developed as a discipline long before prehistoric archaeology became a field for serious enquiry. Its preoccupations and concerns have, in a variety of subtle and often involuntary ways, shaped the preconceptions of archaeological research as a whole. Initially they were not regarded as separate fields at all. But as archaeology (and especially prehistoric archaeology) began to establish itself as an autonomous discipline from the middle of the nineteenth century, its relationship with Classical archaeology has been a rather special one. In general it is the field of archaeology *per se* which has been responsible for a whole series of technical advances, many of them based upon the applications of archaeological science. But Classical archaeology remains the paradigm case of text-aided archaeology – or, if that term seems too partial, of the study of the past in a context where the study of the written records and of the material remains must go hand in hand. In Europe, of course, the other such case is offered by the early Middle Ages (in Britain by the Anglo-Saxon period) where it is now a commonplace that much of our new knowledge comes from excavation and fieldwork, rather than from the re-interpretation of charters and documents taken in isolation. In reality the most difficult task is often that of bringing into meaningful relationship the data from the different categories of evidence.

For these reasons there has developed in recent years, and as the two areas have increasingly asserted their autonomy, something of a love–hate

relationship between archaeology and Classical archaeology. In his Introduction Nigel Spencer quotes several expressions of distaste by Classical archaeologists over recent developments in archaeological theory and practice, while comparable imprecations are not far to seek among prehistoric archaeologists railing against the technical inadequacies of Classical archaeologists at work in the field.

It is a notable circumstance that the session at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) Conference held at Southampton from which the present volume springs was the first such, devoted exclusively to Classical archaeology, in the now quite long sequence of annual TAG meetings. That such a session should have taken so long to come about springs perhaps from the suspicions and tensions engendered by that love–hate relationship. It was clear to the Classical archaeologists that the archaeologists *per se,* and especially the prehistoric archaeologists, were an uncouth lot, who if not entirely illiterate were certainly incapable of interpreting a text with any knowledge or sensitivity. And it was clear to the prehistorians that the Classical archaeologists, totally and blindly committed to the doctrine of the primacy of the text over the material remains, would continue to ignore the hard information under their own noses – for instance the plant remains and animal bones which could easily be recovered from excavations at Classical sites – in favour of fleeting references to everyday life (in this case to food and drink) recorded in literary texts.

What I found refreshing about the Southampton session, and what now seems to me the particular merit of the present volume, is that it goes beyond these rather obvious lessons. It would have been perfectly possible to preach to the TAG converted by showing how modern archaeological techniques, for instance those of field survey, are now revolutionising certain fields of Classical archaeology and ancient history, notably in the area of settlement studies and demography. Instead we have a series of contributions which show very clearly how some of the insights potentially available from Classical archaeology can fruitfully be brought to bear much more widely, if the preconceptions upon which they rest are re-examined and made more explicit.

In recent years Ian Morris and James Whitley, following in the directions first indicated by Anthony Snodgrass, have been among those making new and coherent use both of the archaeological data, in a coherent and modern way, and of the traditions of Classical scholarship based ultimately upon the study of the texts. With the increasing focus of contemporary archaeology upon symbolic and cognitive topics – upon areas where the thought and imagination of the ancient actors has to be taken firmly into account – there are new tasks to be attempted, tasks which have in many cases been addressed by the Classical archaeologist, albeit in a rather intuitive way. Jonathan Hall's discussion of ethnicity is a good example of the new approach which draws upon the strengths

of both disciplines. The topic is one which prehistoric archaeologists have tended to steer clear of in recent years. The Classical archaeologists, on the other hand, have often found it difficult to shed the baggage of implicit assumptions brought forward from the last century. Such topics as this, or the way we interpret works of art which we believe were indeed intended by their makers to be seen as works of art, deserve the most searching theoretical treatment. Whether we share the somewhat cautious aspirations of a cognitive processual approach, or choose to follow the more free-and-easy initiatives of the post-processual archaeologists (to adopt for a moment the terminologies currently in use among 'theoretical' archaeologists) there is work to be done here which is of wide general relevance for archaeology as a whole.

For these reasons this is, I believe, an important book and one which will establish the path for many future studies.

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Permission to quote material was kindly granted by Oxbow Books (and Professor John Boardman) and The Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

Sincere thanks are also due to Clive Gamble at Southampton University for helping to organise the publication of the session at TAG from which this volume comes and for liaising with the publishers throughout the period of the book's preparation.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

It is impossible to devise one consistent system for the transliteration of ancient Greek, modern Greek and Turkish words. The contributors, therefore, have all employed their own versions of the most conventional systems. Authors of ancient texts have been written out in full with the titles of their works either simply transliterated or given in the Latin/English form regularly employed.

INTRODUCTION

NIGEL SPENCER

The origins of this volume were a session (where many of the chapters were first presented) at the EuroTAG conference at Southampton on 16 December 1992 entitled 'New Directions in Classical Archaeology'. To have a session at the annual TAG (Theoretical Archaeologists' Group) Conference composed entirely of papers in Classical archaeology is an event rare in itself, even more so to have the whole session examining only the historic periods of the discipline. The aim of the session, and latterly this volume, was to present a forum for the interdisciplinary research currently being carried out by Classical archaeologists, and it was for this reason that the title (revised from that of the original session) refers back to Colin Renfrew's paper of 1980 which made pleas for the inception of such integrated approaches (Renfrew 1980). The chapters in the volume indicate a desire on the part of many scholars to develop further previous research in Classical archaeology, to re-contextualise data and to pose new research questions through the restoration of links to classics and ancient history as well as anthropology. Archaeology is, after all, a study of the past of man and emphasis is laid therefore upon the examination of societies and social structures through the archaeological record in a number of different ways.

The first three contributions examine the definition of social groups in the Argolid, Cyprus and Lesbos respectively, looking at the question on different scales at an intra-group and inter-group level. The interpretations are based upon many different sources, including those from myth and cult practice together with the structure of regional dialects and also archaeological data. In all three chapters there is special interest in the co-existence of a number of independent polities in each area and the

consequential social interaction between these. All the chapters do more than merely review the archaeological finds and philological sources, however, since they also offer interpretations of how the data might relate to socio-political developments occurring in all three regions in certain periods. An explanation of the emphasis placed on group definition is sought in phenomena such as state formation together with the importance of establishing membership to and hierarchy within new political entities.

'Ethnic' identity is relevant to all three chapters, with reconsideration of the different communities of Greeks in the Argolid, the traditional 'Humane Greek'/'Barbarian Oriental' divide in Cyprus and the 'Greek' versus 'Anatolian' question in Lesbos. The importance of such definition and the 'ethnicity' issue in archaeology was one of the main discussion points to come out of the 1992 EuroTAG conference. At Southampton, Colin Renfrew noted the importance of establishing an archaeological perspective on this theme, currently under the political spotlight given the recent re-alignments in eastern Europe and the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Another major theme to come out of the conference was the lack of gender-related work in archaeology and the two chapters by Nevett and Stears consider gender as one aspect of their studies. It is to be hoped that the contributions in this volume will underline the value of gender as a theme for archaeological research, and also that the current imbalance of such themes being studied largely by women scholars (which is reflected in this volume also) will be corrected in time. Two aspects of gender come under the spotlight: the spatial analysis of Greek houses, which comes very much from the social science tradition regarding the study of social space and architecture, and the social and gender context of funerary monuments. An important feature of the latter chapter is the restoration of art and architecture into a full social context, stressing the importance of viewing both in more than just art historical and iconographical dimensions.

The study of gender is of course partly a study of bias in both our archaeological and literary sources as well as a reconsideration of our own preconceptions and the theme of source-initiated bias is also central to Foxhall's study of monuments and monumentality. The chief foci of this chapter are the issues of the 'past', 'posterity' and our interpretation of Classical Greece from the snippets of information the Greeks have left us. It is suggested that the majority of the material which constitutes our archaeological and literary sources is dominated by elitist male groups who were often creating a past which had little to do with accurate details but was designed rather to immortalise the fame and memory of a limited number of people.

The use (and abuse) of the past with a view to legitimisation and self-perpetualisation are themes which have been commented upon by many historians and archaeologists, and they are two issues which have been investigated in recent years with regard to hero cults in late Geometric and

Archaic Greece. Whitley's new examination of the hero cult phenomenon stresses that there is a need for a general archaeological and anthropological theory on the uses of the past and shows the value of introducing comparanda from other cultures in order to elucidate the subtleties of this practice. Hypotheses are put forward regarding how the Greeks of the Archaic period conceived the past to which they made offerings, whether they believed the people in question were their ancestors or heroes and the importance of the myths concerning the past in some of the earliest literature. The link is made to Hesiod's account of the five races of men and its possible importance for our interpretation of the cult practice. It must be remembered that for the Greeks of the early Archaic period links had yet to be established between the world of the late Bronze Age and their own time; the 'past' was symbolised only by myths and monumental ruins, and their perception of the Mycenaean world was very different to our one which has been conditioned by the discoveries of the last century.

The chapter by Lambrianides demonstrates the possible uses of ethnography as another tool which can be usefully employed in the analysis of past societies. The author argues for further emphasis to be placed upon local actions and decisions in the analysis of diachronic social change rather than trying to explain all such developments in terms of large-scale processes and teleological perspectives on the progress of civilisation. By examining the social as well as the physical structure of a modern village (Chora, Amorgos) new perspectives are offered on how we might interpret the changes visible in the structure of the Bronze Age site of Thermi in Lesbos known to us only through the plans of the settlements drawn by the excavator.

This summary of the issues tackled in the chapters will have made clear that in much current research Classical archaeology, ancient history, classics and anthropology are no longer running on narrow, completely parallel tracks without reference to each other or to other branches of archaeology. In fieldwork also, more interdisciplinary approaches have been apparent over the last twenty years, especially in surface survey projects where geomorphologists, classicists, ancient historians and anthropologists have contributed as much as Classical archaeologists to the final publications (McDonald and Rapp 1972; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Cherry *et al.* 1991). If the relevance of the discipline is an important issue (Renfrew 1980: 290; Snodgrass 1987: 1–14; Dyson 1993; I. Morris forthcoming) then the growth of such projects which employ scholars from other disciplines and examine questions current in other branches of field archaeology (such as British prehistory, compare the structure of Barrett *et al.* 1991 with Cherry *et al.* 1991) can only help Classical archaeology.

Another point touched upon above is that the introduction of interdisciplinary methodologies in Classical archaeology visible in the present

chapters is to be seen very much as a building and development process rather than a radical departure from what has gone before. Classical archaeology may have gone through a long period of stultification (Snodgrass 1987: 1–14; Dyson 1993: 195–6, 204–6) when it was dominated by publications of long catalogues and descriptive accounts of excavations, and the studies in this volume no doubt appear very different from this tradition. This impression should not hide, however, how much reliance is placed on the previous work in terms of creating a framework within which to work. The detailed studies of Classical art and architecture over the past century have created the chronological and regional structure of the Aegean world (C. Morris 1993: 43) and it is only on such a base that the more anthropological approaches examining the society of Ancient Greece can be built with any security.

The apparent difference should also not hide that there was implicit theory (and quite literally 'anthropology') in the work of previous scholars, even those who might be defined as a typically 'traditional' Classical archaeologists. John Beazley was never keen to explain his scholarly approach, the results of which were long lists of black and red figure vases in which he attributed pieces to different artists or groups of artists. In Beazley's work, however, the basic implicit theory was that there was value in viewing Greek art in terms of the artist (a very innovative approach towards the study of vase painting when Beazley began). He saw as important elements of study the relationships between the masters, pupils, colleagues and rivals who learned from and influenced one another over the three centuries from 700 to 400 BC (Robertson 1985: 19–20). The basis of much of Beazley's work therefore was the study of human relationships over time, a theme echoed more explicitly in many of the chapters in this volume.

The point that the current work is based firmly on previous scholarship needs emphasising because the employment of more varied methods in Classical archaeology over the last decade (including anthropological, scientific and more detailed statistical approaches) has prompted suggestions that the present Classical archaeologists in England are 'a whole generation of quarreling, trendy young theoretical archaeologists' (Dyson 1993: 198). This criticism is exaggerated but it illustrates two current problems in the discipline.

Firstly, the employment of these different methods including complicated statistics and dendrograms does sometimes come across as a 'blind 'em with science' mentality as if there is an attempt to break from the previous tradition of empirical scholarship as fully as possible. The second problem, following on from the first, is that sometimes there has been an unwarranted reaction against new ideas and methods even if some aspects of the work have proved to be useful and this tension has been seen as one between generations (*ibid.*: 197–8).

Many agree, however, that Classical archaeology cannot remain aloof from necessary changes of direction in research questions and methods any longer (*ibid.*: 206; I. Morris forthcoming: 4) and whilst the discipline should not ignore its strong base of previous scholarship built up over more than a century, it must not reject new methods and ideas. Professor Sir John Boardman wrote ten years ago that he was not sorry Oxford was making very little contribution to New Archaeology (Boardman 1985: 52). He compared New Archaeology to *nouvelle cuisine*, 'seductive in appearance but nutritionally unsatisfying' and we may do well to be fastidious in our selection of lost causes 'and refuse to be dominated by a school or dogma' (*ibid.*: 52–3). Of course scholarship must not be dominated by any one particular approach but one can learn and move forward only by adding new ingredients (to preserve the culinary metaphor). If one sees faults looking back at the methodological 'fads' of a certain era, at least one has established which approaches turned out to be unpalatable by tasting them. I have stressed that the chapters included in this volume should be seen as adding new spice to the already very rich cake of Classical archaeology, building on the previous scholarship and not breaking from it. I hope scholars from many disciplines will find that this approach makes the main course which follows these *hors d'oeuvres* all the more nourishing.

CHAPTER ONE

APPROACHES TO ETHNICITY IN THE EARLY IRON AGE OF GREECE[1]

JONATHAN M. HALL

Abstract: A literary tradition which persists for approximately a millennium appears to offer clear traces of ethnic consciousness among various Greek-speaking groups inhabiting the Aegean. The subject was of topical appeal to Classical scholars in the nineteenth century but was jettisoned in the era immediately subsequent to the Second World War, when the anti-pluralist philosophy of the 'melting-pot' prevailed. By espousing an explicitly social (rather than biological) definition of ethnicity and informed by more recent research in anthropology and social psychology, this chapter attempts to demonstrate that ethnic identity probably was an important component within social and political negotiation. It then goes on to explore briefly how material and non-material symbols were actively manipulated in the marking of ethnic boundaries by examining the literary, archaeological and linguistic evidence for the Argolid region of Greece.

The study of ethnic consciousness in Classical antiquity is not in itself a novelty. While research interests are to a large degree focused by contemporary issues and concerns, the conceptual genesis of the topic is to be situated not among the ethnic resurgences of the 1990s but in the process of European nation-building at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Most characteristic of this new concern was the publication, in 1824, of Karl Otfried Müller's *Die Dorier*. Influenced by scholars such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich von Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt, as well as the Norwegian natural philosopher Henrik Steffens, Müller sought to identify the specific character or *Volksgeist* of the various Hellenic ethnic groups – the Minyans of Orkhomenos and the Dorians occupied the first three volumes of a never-completed series on the Hellenic *Stämme und Städte* (Müller 1824;

Rawson 1969: 318–20; Wittenburg 1984; Musti 1986a: xii–xv). So potent was interest in this new facet of antiquity that the symbolism of ancient ethnicity became inscribed in the contemporary conflict between Prussia and France, in which conservative, militaristic Prussia was likened to Dorian Sparta and liberal, 'enlightened' France to Ionian Athens (Fustel de Coulanges 1893; Hartog 1988: 386; Will 1956: 11–12; Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1979: 2–3).

Conversely, by the middle of the twentieth century, Edouard Will was able to proclaim that there was no such thing as ethnic consciousness in Ancient Greece (Will 1956), and this view has received further support from attempts to remove the chimerical Dorians from having played any part in the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial systems – most notably by Klaus Kilian in archaeology and by John Chadwick in linguistics (Kilian 1980; 1986; 1987–8; Chadwick 1976; 1986). This difference in stance is not simply one of individual expression. Rather, the two directly opposed viewpoints are trace elements in a 'sociology of knowledge' which inevitably reflects and restructures an intellectual paradigm contextualised in geographical space and historical time.

Schlegel and Müller were propelled by a German romantic ideology in which the three themes of environmental determinism, consanguinity and social evolutionism combined to determine the spirit of a specific community (Gellner 1987: 86–7; Collingwood 1946: 90, 129; Banton 1977: 90f.). It is, however, the very immutability of these three supposed determinants that allowed German romanticism to lay the foundation stone for the scientifically justified racism of the Comte de Gobineau and ultimately Nazism. In the wake of the Second World War and the Holocaust, the validity of ethnicity as a vehicle for social praxis in Ancient Greece has been challenged either directly, as by Will, or indirectly by means of a studied circumspection. The shift in attitude parallels the now-discredited dichotomy between a *primordialist* view of ethnicity, which takes ethnic identity to be innate, inescapable and deterministic, and an *instrumentalist* view, which regards ethnicity as a transient strategy adopted by groups for purposes ulterior to the cultural goals ostensibly central to their identity – these may often be economic (A.D. Smith 1986: 9–12, 32; Fishman 1983: 134; O. Patterson 1975; Bentley 1987).

Reacting against the primordialist standpoint of the German romantics, most classicists today would find themselves within the instrumentalist camp. So it is that, when forced to make reference to collectivities such as the Dorians, Ionians or Aiolians, scholars attempt to demote them to the status of linguistic groups which simply share some common social customs (e.g. Murray 1980: 17). Our earliest literary testimony for these groups, however, does not really support such embarrassed reticence. In a pseudo-Hesiodic fragment, consigned to writing in the sixth century BC but containing elements that reach back to at least the ninth or eighth

centuries (West 1985: 130, 144), we read that 'The sons of the war-loving King Hellen [the eponym for the Hellenes, or Greeks] were Doros, Xouthos [the father of Ion] and the charioteer Aiolos' (Fragment 9 Merkelbach/West). Quite apart from the fact that the use of such genealogies is a typically ethnic strategy, the fragment cannot refer solely to linguistic divisions for the simple reason that the complex combinations of phonological and morphological distinctions which would give rise to this particular tripartite division could hardly be apprehended or classified without recourse to either a formal grammar or a Standard Greek Dialect – both necessarily absent in this early stage of literacy (Hainsworth 1967: 64–5; Morpurgo-Davies 1987). The point is that a speaker of Argolic and a speaker of Korinthian (both regional dialects belonging to the Doric supradialectal group) would recognise each other's speech as at once distant though similar, but if they were also to recognise that Megarian, Rhodian, Theran and Syracusan were likewise part of the same Doric dialect group, this would be due to the proclamation of a shared Doric ethnicity among these areas rather than to the recognition of a specific linguistic group (Hainsworth 1967: 66).

In fact, in a literary tradition which spans almost a millennium from Hesiod to Pausanias, and in which the essential details retain a remarkably persistent durability, the well-known groups such as Dorians, Ionians, Aiolians and Akhaians as well as lesser-known groups like the Dryopes are described as both *ethne* and *gene*. The word *ethnos* is not as precise as the English word which is derived from it and normally refers to groups whose identity need only be predicated on shared function or territory. *Genos*, on the other hand, describes a collectivity which identifies itself in terms of shared descent (however fictive). Faced with a situation in which groups define themselves in terms of territory and shared ancestry, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was at least the potential for ethnic consciousness in Ancient Greece.

The problem with the nineteenth-century treatment of Greek ethnic groups was that its racial model entailed a view of biologically determined, static and monolithic categories whose boundaries were impermeable – indeed, elements of this doctrine still prevail in some current works on Greek history which apply the term 'race' to the Dorians or Ionians. Had classics maintained, on the other hand, the close relationship with anthropology that was so characteristic of the early decades of this century, then the more dynamic models of ethnicity developed by social anthropologists over the last thirty years might have prevented the cold-shouldering of ancient ethnicity.

Today it is generally recognised that an ethnic group is neither static nor monolithic. Boundary transition is neither impossible nor infrequent, occurring often as a result of marriage, as with the passing of Irish and Polish brides in the United States to an Italian ethnicity (Parsons 1975: 57, 64), but also as a result of migration – for instance,

the gradual assimilation of Albanian Arvanites in the Greek villages of Attikí and Viotía (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 179; see also Barth 1969; Koster 1977: 43; Capozza, Bonaldo and di Maggio 1982: 299; Fandetti and Gelfand 1983: 125). The ethnic group as a collectivity is itself subject to processes of fission – for example, the continuing profilation and eventual separation of Gipsy groups, or the proliferation out of Hinduism of a Sikh identity – as well as to processes of fusion, such as the incorporation of the Franks in France or the Etruscans in Italy (Horowitz 1975: 115; Haarmann 1986: 41). Furthermore, ethnic identity is not always an important channel of expression but is subject to varying degrees of salience according to external circumstances; this is true not only at a collective level but also at the level of individuals, who – in theory at any rate – have the potential to decide whether to regard their membership of an ethnic group as a meaningful component of their social persona (Eidheim 1969; O. Patterson 1975; Deschamps 1982).

Most important, however, is the fact that the ethnic group is a *social construction* rather than an objective and inherently determined category. Genetic, linguistic, religious or common cultural factors cannot act as an objective and universal definition of an ethnic group (Wade 1993; Haaland 1969: 59; Hobsbawm 1992: 63; A.D. Smith 1986: 23–7; Forsythe 1989: 141–3; Karpat 1985: 96; Geary 1983: 20; Anderson 1991: 133; Horowitz 1985: 50; Gellner 1983: 71–2; Simić 1991: 19; Das Gupta 1975: 471; Just 1989: 81; Leach 1954: 281). They are instead *indicia*, or the operational sets of distinguishing attributes which tend to be associated with ethnic groups once the socially determined *criteria* have been created and set in place (Horowitz 1975: 119–20). What distinguishes the ethnic group from other social collectivities is its myth of shared descent and its supposed association with a primordial territory (A.D. Smith 1986: 22–30) – in other words, the two concepts embraced by the Greek words *genos* and *ethnos* respectively.

It is the socially constructed, fluid and dynamic nature of ethnic identity, rather than blind allegiance to the theoretical tenets of post-processualism, that enjoins a view of the archaeological material as a purposive consequence of active signalling rather than as a passive trace element of unconscious behaviour. The 'settlement archaeological' method of Gustaf Kossina, which equated sharply defined archaeological culture areas with specific peoples (see e.g. Veit 1989: 37–9), can detect only static or slowly evolving assemblages. Furthermore, it is predicated on two erroneous assumptions. The first is that an 'archaeological culture' is simply the material corollary of what social psychologists used to term the Basic Personality Structure of a culture – a concept whose heuristic value is now doubted (Jahoda 1978: 81–2). The second treats artefacts as defining *criteria* of ethnicity instead of as *indicia*. Events over the past few years, however, have illustrated graphically the short time scale in

which the salience of ethnic identity may ebb and flow, or in which ethnic assimilation and profilation may occur.

In fact, it is far more likely that the *overall character* of an archaeological assemblage will be a consequence of factors such as technology, climate or access to resources rather than ethnicity (Arnold 1978: 58; Collett 1987: 106; DeCorse 1989: 137). What an ethnic group does is actively and consciously to select certain artefacts *from within* the overall repertoire; these then act as emblemic indicators of ethnic boundaries in situations where behaviour in terms of group (rather than individual) identity is activated (see Wiessner 1983; 1989: 59–60; 1990: 109). Such situations are often triggered by a perceived threat to group identity – for instance, the denial by an outgroup of an ingroup's ethnicity – and occasion a convergence of individual behaviour by means of the internalisation of group values within individual members of that group (Turner 1982: 31). There is, however, no necessary reason for such boundaries to be permanently marked, nor for the choice of artefact to remain constant. Under these expectations, it is easy to see why the endless debate waged within Classical archaeology as to the diagnostically Doric nature of artefacts such as the violin-bow fibula, the *Griffzungenschwert* or the Höckmann Type K spearhead is, to say the least, sterile (Desborough 1972: 21; S. Hiller 1986: 138–9; Höckmann 1980: 64f., 146f.; Snodgrass 1971: 307–9; Van Soesbergen 1981: 39).

Given both the acute amount of 'information loss' which intrudes between predepositional behaviour and archaeological retrieval, as well as the subtle and nuanced nature of ethnicity, any attempt to trace archaeologically the expression of ethnic identity needs to be somewhat robust. Firstly, it is necessary to demonstrate that certain settlements, or areas within settlements, *actively* used a range of artefacts to signal either similarity with or difference from other areas. This is no easy task to establish, since the theoretical trend towards active archaeological behaviour has in the first place been derived from ethnoarchaeology, in which predepositional behaviour is directly observable. In practice, one must inevitably proceed initially from a passive viewpoint in which it is the artefact rather than the social actor which is encountered directly. I would suggest that we are witnessing active signalling when communities appear to differentiate themselves through the use of symbols whose diacritical value appears to be short- rather than long-term and which coincide with further short-term symbols from *different fields of evidence*. This dictates that the search for ethnicity cannot be conducted according to just one type of evidence (O'Shea 1984: 301; DeCorse 1989: 138) but must extend both across the differing classes of archaeological evidence as well as including other non-archaeological media of expression: for instance, language, ritual practices and mythic structures. This in itself would only identify the expression of corporate group solidarity. For the phenomenon to be ethnic, it is necessary to determine whether the communities thus identified seek

to endow such behavioural differences with an ancestral legitimation. If this methodology is accepted, then it is germane to note that Classical archaeology is in a particularly privileged position within the wider field of archaeology, not only owing to its wealth of non-archaeological material but also because – unlike archaeologies of long-term history (Hodder 1987) – it is capable of tracking short-term variation.

The Argolid region of southern Greece (see fig. 1.1) is an appropriate area in which to study ethnic identity for two reasons. Firstly, the documentary and archaeological material is relatively well-known. Secondly, the literary tradition consistently attributes a number of cohabiting ethnic groups to the area (table 1.1) and ethnicity is much more likely to be a salient dimension of identity when there is a plurality of ethnic groups all competing for the same resources and able to define themselves through intergroup comparison (Hodder 1979: 446; 1982: 27–31; Osborn 1989: 153–4). Constraints of space dictate that the treatment of this case-study can be presented here only in summary form.

It has been observed by many scholars that the behaviour of the eastern Argolid (or Akti peninsula) can in many cases be distinguished from that of the communities of the Argive plain (most recently in Foley 1988). We are badly informed as to the nature of mortuary practices in the eastern Argolid for the Early Iron Age, though the instance of a seventh-century cremation at Halieis (Dengate 1976: 314) is in stark contrast to the overwhelming preference for inhumation in the plain. Apart from a funerary pyre in the Pronoia suburb of Nauplia (Charitonidis 1953: 194), the only certain site for which there is some limited evidence for the practice of cremation is coastal Asine, where some instances have been noted on the Barbouna Hill (Hägg 1965; Fossey 1989). It is interesting to note that, in the literary tradition, Asine is supposed to have been home to an exclusively Dryopean population, since it does appear to differentiate itself from the Argive plain in most material and non-material respects.

Table 1.1 The distribution of ethnic groups throughout the Argolid according to the literary tradition

ARGOS	Dorians; Herakleidai (Akhaians); Pelasgians
ASINE	Dryopes
EPIDAUROS	Dorians; Herakleidai (Akhaians); Ionians; Karians
HALIEIS	Dryopes
HERMIONE	Dorians; Dryopes; Ionians; Karians
MIDEA	Herakleidai (Akhaians)
MYKENAI	Herakleidai (Akhaians)
TIRYNS	Herakleidai (Akhaians)
TROIZEN	Dorians; Dryopes; Ionians

Figure 1.1 The Argolid. Contours marked at 200 m and 600 m

With regard to religious practices, there is some evidence that the eastern Argolid articulated its pantheon in a slightly different way from the plain. Without resorting to the totemistic approach of Müller, who sought to make Apollo an exclusively Dorian god (Müller 1824: 199f.; see also Adshead 1986: 35; Eder 1990: 208), a number of scholars are now coming to the conclusion that the relative status of deities within the pantheon may be articulated differentially according to region: by way of example, one might point to the fact that the considerable importance attached to the cult of the Dioskouroi in the Peloponnese generally, and Sparta in particular, was not uniformly consistent throughout the rest of Greece. In the eastern Argolid, an early importance appears to be attached to Poseidon on Kalaureia (Wide and Kjellberg 1895; Welter 1941) and possibly Hermione, and to Demeter at Troizen (Legrand 1905: 303f.; Welter 1941: 21f.) and Halieis (Jameson 1969). Neither deity, on the other hand, seems to command as much kudos in the Geometric and early Archaic cults of the plain. Indeed, in the eastern Argolid, Demeter is presented with the sorts of votives – pomegranates, loom weights and *koulouria* (clay representations of cakes) – which are characteristically diagnostic of Hera in the plain.

Finally, the two areas are distinguished by a number of dialectal differences, notably as a result of the three 'compensatory lengthenings' which took place between 1000 and 600 BC and in which the loss of certain intervocalic consonantal clusters occasioned the lengthening in the value of the previous vowel (Bartoněk 1972; Fernandez Alvarez 1981). Whether these linguistic differences are really due to an Akhaian substrate in the plain and an Ionian one in the eastern Argolid – as the literary tradition would suggest – is a matter of dispute, though it is worth noting that the linguistic choices of the plain do appear to coincide broadly with those of Arkadian, the dialect considered by many to be closest to the 'Old Akhaian' spoken by Mycenaean Greeks (Bartoněk 1972: 107–8, 196).

More surprising, perhaps, is the recognition of similar symbolic divisions *within* the Argive plain itself, especially in the light of the widespread (though, I think, erroneous) view that this was a homogeneous culture area, largely as a result of Argive domination of the plain at an early date (Polignac 1984; Wright 1982: 200; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991: 85; Whitley 1988: 181; Antonaccio 1992: 105). The most basic division is between Argos, on the western side of the plain, and the communities of the eastern plain (Mykenai, the Heraion, Berbati, Dendra, Tiryns, Nauplia), though the north-western (Deiras) sector of Argos would appear to behave more like the sites of the eastern plain than like the rest of Argos.

This differentiation is observable in mortuary practices – choice of grave type, grave orientation, grave goods and the practice of grave re-use – as well as in the specific letter forms selected to represent phonemes in the earliest inscriptions. Particularly notable is the importance accorded to

the cult of Hera at Mykenai, Prosymna, the Heraion, Tiryns and Agios Adrianos on the eastern side of the plain and on the Aspis hill in the north-western region of Argos. This is in marked contrast to the central and south-western areas of Argos where Apollo Lykeios and Athena Polias appear to have enjoyed a higher status than Hera.

Such divisions within the plain are exemplified to the greatest degree by the variety of symbols which the inhabitants of Mykenai used to signal an identity that was distinct from the central and south-western (though not north-western) sectors of Argos. In archaeological terms this is expressed through a somewhat conservative tendency in burial practices, particularly in its retention of cist and pit burial in the face of an increasing trend elsewhere towards pithos burial. Furthermore, its preference for a north-westerly orientation distinguished it from other areas which favoured south-westerly orientations.

Similarly, a differential use of common artefacts can be observed between Argos and Mykenai. The commonest type of bronze pin used in the Geometric Argolid was the Type K–D 1D (see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984; Rolley 1992: 39) but while the 1D is attested as part of a cultic deposit at Mykenai, it appears to be absent from sanctuary contexts at Argos – including the rich deposit on the Larissa akropolis (Vollgraff 1928; Béquinon 1930; Roes 1953; Courbin 1955; Hägg 1992: 11) – appearing instead only among grave goods. A similar conclusion might be drawn from the evidence of fibulae: the vast majority of the published fibulae of Argos fall under the Boiotian Type VIII (Blinkenberg 1926), while it is the Asia Minor Type XII which would seem to be the more appropriate sanctuary dedication at Mykenai and at the Heraion.

At a linguistic level, as a result of the 'second compensatory lengthening' of the ninth century BC (Bartoněk 1972: 100–1, 215; Fernandez Alvarez 1981: 51f., 65f.), the inscriptions of Mykenai attest the simplification of medial and terminal *-ns-* clusters to a simple *-s-* without lengthening the previous vowel, while Argive inscriptions preserve the clusters intact until as late as the fourth century BC. Similarly, Mykenai's adoption of the letter *sigma* to represent the sibilant in the third quarter of the sixth century (Jeffery 1990: 172) may have preceded the Argive decision to replace *san* with *sigma* by at least a generation (but see Jameson 1990: 215).

Finally, Mykenai, as other communities of the eastern plain such as Tiryns and Midea, was intimately associated at the mythical level with the Perseid dynasty, including the heroes Perseus and Herakles, whose ancestral origins were firmly anchored in the Argive landscape.[2] Interestingly enough, this mythical dynasty receives little in the way of monumental realisation in the centre of Argos itself (Piérart 1991; 1992: 129). Instead, the mythical dynasty which was consumed and monumentalised in the centre of Argos was that of the Proitids, which included the heroes who marched against Thebes as well as Diomedes (see Pausanias 2.20.4–2.24.3;

Pariente 1992). The characteristics of the Perseid and Proitid dynasties are respectively very different. The Perseid genealogy repeats the theme of theogeniture – Perseus by Danae, Herakles by Alkmene – which is absent from the Proitid genealogy, while the Proitid genealogy exhibits a theme which is absent from the Perseid genealogy, namely uxorilocality: Melampous, Bias and Tydeus all accede to power by arriving from other locations to take Argive brides. Furthermore, while the *personae* of the Perseid genealogy are mythically rooted in the environment of the Argive plain, the Proitid genealogy embraces figures such as Melampous, Bias, Diomedes, Alkmaion and Amphiaraos, who enjoyed a less geographically specific and more Panhellenic importance (see Bibis-Paraspyropoulou 1989; Jost 1992; Wathelet 1992).

It is in precisely those areas which consciously use material, linguistic and mythic symbols to distinguish themselves from central and south-western Argos that appeals to ancestral legitimation are witnessed. The better-known examples of such strategies are the occurrences of so-called 'hero-cult' in Bronze Age chamber tombs and tholoi at Mykenai, Prosymna and the Deiras ridge in northern Argos (Deshayes 1966; Blegen 1937a; 1937b; Wace, Hood and Cook 1953; Wace 1921–3; 1932; Coldstream 1976; Snodgrass 1982; 1988; Whitley 1988 (and in this volume); I. Morris 1988) and the construction of the terrace wall at the Heraion in what would appear to be a deliberate imitation of Bronze Age cyclopean masonry (Wright 1982; Blegen 1939; Antonaccio 1992). Both phenomena, however, should be situated within a wider context of appeals to the 'heroic age': for instance, the practice of Geometric and seventh-century burial within Bronze Age chamber tombs on the Deiras, at Berbati, Dendra, Prosymna and Mykenai (Hägg 1974: 35–6; G. Säflund 1965: 35–7, 81–90; Persson 1931: 10f., 42, 67; Antonaccio 1992: 99 n.41; Wace 1932: 115f.); the situation of Geometric sanctuaries in areas of Late Helladic (though not always explicitly cultic) activity in north Argos and at Mykenai, the Heraion and Tiryns (Vollgraff 1907; Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1980; Hägg 1992: 14f., 17); the re-introduction of the Mycenaean practice of horse sacrifice in north Argos (Stais 1895: 206; Deshayes 1966: 69f.; Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1990; Kritzas 1972: 198; Kaza-Papageorgiou 1980: 116); and the production of what appear to be deliberately archaising artefacts at Tiryns and the Heraion (Frickenhaus, Müller and Oelmann 1912: 69f.; Caskey and Amandry 1952: 187, 197f., 204; Waldstein 1905: 278f.; Foley 1988: 92).

These ancestral strategies are normally attributed to a wish on the part of the Dorians to legitimise their territorial claims (e.g. Snodgrass 1982) but such an appeal to supposed Bronze Age ancestors is in direct contradiction with the myth which the Dorians told about themselves, in which their ancestry was traced back to the north-west Greek king, Aigimios (see Hesiod Fragment 10a Merkelbach/West), and their claim to the Peloponnese justified through military strength and exogenous

conquest rather than heritage. In the literary tradition, the areas in which these ancestral appeals are archaeologically attested are connected not so much with the Dorians as with the Herakleidai (see table 1.1) – an elite Akhaian group of families who did stress their ancestral claims to the Argolid and whose genealogical *stemma* derived not from Doros or Aigimios but from Perseus and Herakles (this often-neglected distinction between Dorians and Herakleidai is suggested also in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1959: 68; Musti 1986b: 38; Vanschoonwinkel 1991: 360). Given the close association between the Herakleidai and the goddess Hera – Herakles' name meaning 'glory of Hera' (Jameson 1990: 220) – it is not then surprising to find that appeals to ancestral legitimation are witnessed in precisely those areas in which cults to Hera assumed a particular importance. In other words, mortuary practices, cult activities, linguistic markers, local mythical genealogies and literary/ethnographic discourse were all employed by the communities of the eastern plain to legitimise an ancestral claim to territory (and, one might suspect, status) and by Argos to challenge the validity of that claim. Regardless of any biological 'facts', the discourse in which these claims and counterclaims invested themselves was that of ethnicity; the solidarity of the group behind the claims was constructed on the basis of a putative shared ancestry and an association with a primordial territory.

In closing, it is perhaps worth noting that many of the behavioural aspects I have briefly outlined make their first, and certainly their most concentrated, appearance in the Late Geometric phase – a period during which the differing trajectories of various socio-political communities took on a model of communality, conventionally known as the 'rise of the *polis*' (Musti 1989: 79). It would not be so surprising to find an increased salience in ethnic identity at a time when people would have become more conscious of the categories by which they were either included in, or excluded from, the emerging socio-political structure of the *polis*. Indeed, if one were seeking the bases of the selection process by which accession to or exclusion from citizen-status were governed, then the existence of ethnic affiliation might provide an attractive exostructure within which the *polis* could develop.

NOTES

1 This chapter is a highly synoptic summary of my doctoral dissertation, *Ethnic identity in the Argolid, 900–600* BC (University of Cambridge, 1993), which was supervised by Professor Anthony Snodgrass for whose support and guidance I am indebted. I am also grateful to Colin Renfrew, Lin Foxhall and Sofia Voutsaki for comments made on the original draft.

2 Perseus acts as the culture hero of Mykenai, near where Pausanias (2.18.1) reports seeing his ruined shrine. It is true that many of the exploits of Perseus are enacted on the island of Seriphos, where his cult was practised long after the abandonment of Mykenai (Pausanias 2.18.2), but it is the very fact that

fantastic quests have to be situated in the margins of mythological space (cf. Bellerophon in Lycia) that reinforces the centrality of Mykenai in the Perseus cycle. The case of Herakles is more complicated, since he was promoted as a Panhellenic hero from the Archaic period onwards. Nevertheless, despite his birth in Thebes, the *Iliad* (19.121–4) makes it clear that the Argolid should have been Herakles' birthright were it not for the duplicity of Hera, and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (78–82) remedies the situation by having Herakles' stepfather, Amphitryon, flee from Tiryns to Thebes after killing his father-in-law, Alektryon.

CHAPTER TWO

CHALLENGING PRECONCEPTIONS OF ORIENTAL 'BARBARITY' AND GREEK 'HUMANITY'

Human sacrifice in the ancient world

LOUISE STEEL

Abstract: This chapter is a review of the evidence for human sacrifice in the ancient world. Despite plentiful literary evidence for the existence of this practice, it is usually ignored or dismissed as barbaric, with little attempt to identify the motives behind it. In this chapter it is demonstrated, with reference to archaeological remains from the Aegean, the Near East and Cyprus, that human sacrifice was a widespread, cross-cultural phenomenon and cannot be dismissed simply as a barbaric practice of primitive cultures. Instead it should be divided into several distinct categories, each serving very different purposes and found amongst cultures of varying degrees of complexity.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the ritual slaughter of humans has been viewed as an ancient and inhuman custom, redolent of 'Oriental barbarity rather than Greek humanity' (Frazer 1919a: 146), which lapsed as society became more civilised (Reisner 1923: 75), the human victims being replaced by animal substitutes (Vaux 1964: 52). Yet numerous ancient texts refer to this practice, implying it was widespread throughout the Near East and the Classical world (James 1962: 90; Hughes 1991) and continued as late as the Roman imperial period (James 1962: 99). Two distinct types of ritual killing may be identified: the sacrifice of a victim to a supernatural being or divinity and the slaughter of an individual as part of funerary ritual. The latter is not really a form of sacrifice, as the recipient is not divine (Hughes 1991: 1–12). The ritual killing of humans differs from that of animals primarily because of the significance we attach to human life

(Brown 1991: 13) and human sacrifice may have been thought to be of particular efficacy.

SCAPEGOAT SACRIFICE

The prevalent form of human sacrifice identified in the ancient world is the immolation of a 'scapegoat' (Frazer 1913), to appease the gods and divert disaster in times of stress, such as war, famine or plague (James 1962: 97). An example of such a sacrifice may have been identified archaeologically, at the Middle Minoan II/IIIA sanctuary of Archanes-Anemospilia, destroyed in an earthquake (Hughes 1991: 13–17). This sanctuary comprises a structure of three narrow rooms opening on to a corridor (*prothalamos*), within a *peribolos*. Large quantities of ceramics were recovered from the sanctuary and a pair of clay feet, apparently from a life-size wooden statue. Of particular significance was the discovery of four human skeletons inside the sanctuary, one in the *prothalamos* and the other three in the west room. One skeleton, that of a young adult male, was lying on a low stone platform, apparently bound. Lying on his abdomen was a large bronze blade. Though the skeleton had been burned in the destruction of the sanctuary, only those bones on the lower, right, side were blackened, whilst the bones on the upper, left, side were white. The excavators suggested that this was because the individual had lost a large amount of blood and interpreted the skeleton as a sacrificial victim, offered to avert the seismic catastrophe (Hughes 1991: 15). The bronze blade is thought to be the sacrificial weapon and the other skeletons from the sanctuary the priest, priestess and acolyte who performed the ceremony.

This remarkable discovery is seen as proof that the Minoans practised human sacrifice in times of extreme stress. Hughes, though, puts forward arguments that leave this interpretation open to doubt (1991: 16–17). He notes, for example, that the bronze blade is in fact a spearhead and suggests that its close association with the body of the young man might be purely fortuitous. The differential coloration of the bones is also open to other interpretations, as there is no evidence that the presence or absence of blood in a corpse will affect the intensity of burning and thus the colour of the skeleton. At present, therefore, it would be best to reserve judgement on the finds at Anemospilia.

SACRIFICE OF THE FIRST-BORN AND 'MOLOCH' SACRIFICE

Two forms of human sacrifice occur in the Old Testament: sacrifice of the first born (Vaux 1964: 70–2) and sacrifices to Moloch (Vaux 1964: 73). Excavations in the Levant have yielded little evidence, if any, for the actual practice of these rites by Semitic peoples in the second and first

millennia BC. A major cemetery, used exclusively for the burial of new-born infants in Canaanite jars, was discovered in the sacred area, or 'High Place' at Gezer, and can be paralleled by similar remains at Taanach and Tell el Hesy (Macalister 1912: 402; Vincent 1907: 193). The Gezer burials were interpreted as infant immolations because of their close association with the 'High Place' and because in a couple of instances the bone was burnt (Macalister 1912: 402). Others, though, have not accepted this interpretation, thinking it inconceivable that even amongst 'primitive' peoples a mother could be persuaded to give up her new-born child for sacrifice (Schaeffer 1962: 79).

It seems more reasonable, however, to object to the identification of child immolations at Gezer and other sites on the grounds of the expected high rate of infant mortality, rather than the extrapolation of twentieth-century sensitivities back to the second and first millennia BC. It could be argued that these burials represent still-born children and those who had died in infancy, who were excluded from the tombs used by the rest of the community (Binford 1972: 233). Vincent, however, notes that at Gezer the burials were confined to new-born babies only up to one week old, with no pre-term babies and no evidence that any were deformed. This does not reflect the expected range in age of infant mortalities and Vincent views this as conclusive proof that at Gezer, at least, the infant burials from the 'High Place' belonged to the victims of sacrifice (1907: 190, 195). Even so, whether the sacrifice of the first-born infant actually occurred in the ancient Near East is open to serious doubt. Considering the high level of infant mortality in pre-industrial societies, it is difficult to believe that any ancient people could afford systematically to sacrifice the first-born child, who would ensure their continuity (Vaux 1964: 71). If the child burials from Gezer indeed refer to infant immolation, they certainly should not be equated with the sacrifice of the first-born, referred to in the Bible.

'Moloch' sacrifices are difficult to identify archaeologically in the Levant[1] but excavations at various Phoenician colonies have uncovered evidence for the dissemination of this ritual to the West. The majority of the evidence comes from Carthage (Cintas 1970: 382; Brown 1991), where it is increasingly apparent that this rite persisted until the destruction of the site in 146 BC. It is known from both archaeological evidence and Greek and Latin sources written between the fifth century BC and the fifth century AD (Brown 1991: 21–75).

The archaeological evidence comprises a number of cemeteries reserved for the cremated remains of infants and animals (sheep, goats and birds), known as 'tophets'. The largest tophet known archaeologically is at Carthage. Others have been identified at Hadrumetum, in Tunisia, Motya, on Sicily, and southern Cardulinu, Nora, Sulcis, and Tharros, on Sardinia.[2] Possible tophets at Cirta, in Algeria and Lillibeuln, on Sicily, are suggested by the presence of stelae at these sites (Brown 1991: 15).

The cremated bones of between one and three infants (up to four years of age) were deposited in cinerary urns, placed in pits. They were provided with a simple range of grave gifts, such as amulets and small vases and the urn was marked by a small funerary monument. Incinerated animal bones were usually kept separate from the human bones. Tophet burials are distinct from the usual burial practices attested at Phoenician colonies in a number of ways. At sites where tophets have been identified, only one was found serving the ancient settlement, as opposed to several non-sacrificial cemeteries. The exclusive burial of infants is likewise characteristic of tophets. The rite of cremation is pervasive in tophets, whereas in non-sacrificial burial grounds cremation is found alongside inhumation. Another distinctive feature of tophet burials is the presence of animal bones, which are not found in non-sacrificial cemeteries. Also characteristic of tophet burials is the use of pit graves. Adults were never buried in pit graves at Carthage and, though child burials from non-sacrificial cemeteries might be deposited in pit graves, these are always inhumations. Finally, the range of grave goods distinguishes tophets from typical burial grounds. The type of cremation urn used in tophet burials is distinctive and in non-sacrificial burials there is a larger range in grave goods, which are deposited in greater quantities (Brown 1991: 17–8).

Burials in the tophets were marked by funerary stelae, which can be divided into two chronological groups. The earlier group comprises cuboid, sandstone stelae, or 'cippi', apparently decorated on one side, of which traces of stucco and paint remain. These date to between the eighth and the fourth century BC. In the fourth century a new type of grave monument was introduced at Carthage which remained in use until the city's destruction in 146 BC. These are gabled, limestone stelae adorned with acroteria (reflecting Greek influence) and with incised or relief decoration and inscriptions, naming the dedicant and their genealogy and citing the god(s) (Tanit and/or Ba'al) to whom the sacrifice was offered (Stager 1982: 160).

The change in funerary monument dedicated at the tophets in the fourth century BC reflects a general change in sacrificial ritual at this time. The most recent studies of the remains from the urns suggests that there was an increase in the number of human sacrifices, as opposed to animal sacrifices, at this time and this practice was extended to include children one year or older rather than purely neonates (Stager 1982: 160–1). This conclusion contrasts with the accepted interpretation of the remains proposed by Richard (1961) and Cintas (1970), that animal sacrifice gradually replaced human sacrifice at Carthage as the city grew and prospered, reflecting the traditional view that human victims would be replaced by animal substitutes as society became more civilised. It should also be noted that the tophet precinct at Carthage reached its greatest extent in the fourth century BC (Stager 1982: 158).

Inscriptions on the stelae refer to three types of sacrifice, apparently called *mlk* (*mulk*): these are *mlk'mr* (*mulk immor*), *mlk'dm* (*mulk adam*) and *mlk b'l* (*mulk ba'al*). A Latin inscription on a stelae from N'gaous dedicated to Saturn proved the key for understanding *mulk immor*. It was inscribed with the Latin transcription of this term, *molchomor*, and the Latin phrase '*animo agnum pro vika(rio)*', clearly indicating that it refers to the sacrifice of sheep (Stager 1982: 161; Brown 1991: 30). Seventh-century inscriptions from Malta, referring to *mulk immor*, indicate that this type of sacrifice was acceptable from the earliest settlement of the Phoenician colonies. The other sacrificial terms seem to refer to the sacrifice of humans and it has been suggested that they reflect different social classes. The term *mulk adam* is thought to mean the sacrifice of commoners, whilst *mulk ba'al* is thought to refer to the sacrifice of noble children (Brown 1991: 32–3). It is interesting to note that at Carthage the term *mulk ba'al* is found on stelae of all periods, whereas there is not a single instance of *mulk adam* at the site and it has been suggested that at Carthage the elite were the most active participants in this rite (Stager 1980: 7).

The ancients believed that child sacrifice was introduced from the east by Phoenician settlers (Curtius Rufus *Histories of Alexander the Great* 4.3.23) and it seems logical to relate it with sacrifices to Moloch in the Bible. Their contemporaries looked upon the Phoenician practice with abhorrence but this cannot be simplified as Oriental barbarity and Greek (and Roman) humanity. The Persians looked equally askance at the practice, which they sought to forbid (Justin *Epitome* 19.1.10). Certainly the Phoenicians are unusual amongst the ancient Mediterranean inhabitants for their adherence to this practice but it should be noted that it served the same function as infanticide did in neighbouring areas (Brown 1991: 175).

The sacrifices at Carthage and other Phoenician sites in the west Mediterranean are important for understanding the use of human sacrifice. Firstly, they indicate that this is not a form of behaviour typical of a primitive society, which dies out (or is replaced) by animal sacrifice as society achieves a higher level of civilisation. Instead, the *mulk* sacrifices of the Phoenician colonies appear to proliferate with increasing urbanisation. According to the ancient sources the *mulk* sacrifices were made on an annual basis, and in times of crisis, to appease the god(s). The evidence from the stelae inscriptions suggests they were offered to the god(s) in return for favours, much in the same way as animal sacrifices in other cultures (Stager 1982: 162). Finally, it appears that this type of sacrifice was particularly required of the elite, who used it to maintain their wealth and position in society by regulating their growth (Stager 1980: 7).

'SUTTEE' SACRIFICE

An important category of the ritual slaying of humans comprises immolations accompanying funerary ritual, of which there are two main forms. The first of these is the custom of *suttee*, or the burial of a wife (or wives) and possibly of young children alongside the interment of a male. This is a well-known practice in Hindu burials from India and has been identified archaeologically in widely disparate areas. The most extensive discussion of this practice in the archaeological literature is Reisner's publication of the early second millennium BC cemetery at Kerma, in the Sudan (1923). His identification of this rite is dependent upon the following evidence: the occurrence of multiple burials within a single facility, apparently deposited on a single occasion; the presence of a single adult male on a bed, accompanied by several adult females and young children on the floor (presumably too young to survive without either parent); and the contorted position of the 'subsidiary' burials on the floor, implying that they had been buried alive.

The custom of *suttee* has been suggested for various post-Neolithic cultures in Europe, where double burials of a male and female are frequent (Gimbutas 1956: 82), for example the Globular Amphora Culture (Sulimirski 1970: 162), the Catacomb Culture (*ibid.*: 222–3) and the Balanovo Culture (Gimbutas 1956: 79–80). A similar interpretation might be postulated for the Protogeometric double burial of a male and female at Lefkandi Toumba (Popham *et al.* 1982: 169–74). Hood has also suggested that this custom was practised in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age (1973: 40–1). It is not possible, however, to demonstrate that CG I tombs consistently contained the double burial of a male and female. In most instances the burials have not been sexed anthropologically and it is pure supposition that tombs containing two burials housed both a male and female. It is evident, moreover, that the tombs were used successively, with earlier burials left in situ, moved to one side or placed in funerary vessels, to make room for subsequent interments (Steel 1993: 148). It would appear, therefore, that the burials in the chamber tombs were cumulative and had not been deposited on a single occasion.

'RETAINER' BURIALS

The burial of 'retainers' or 'slaves' has been recognised over a wide geographical and chronological area. There are few references to this practice in the ancient texts (*Iliad* 23.175–6; Herodotus *Histories* 4.71), though there is a wealth of archaeological evidence for its occurrence. It has been reported at Ur (Gadd 1960: 51–8; Woolley 1934: 33–42), in Early Dynastic Egypt (Emery 1954: 1–2, 142; Gadd 1960: 52), in

Cyprus, at the Royal Tombs of Salamis (Karageorghis 1963: 33–4; 1967: 9, 121; 1970: 124, 232), amongst the Scythians (Minns 1913: 153, 224–5; Talbot Rice 1957: 96), apparently supporting Herodotus (*Histories* 4.71), and in the Maikop and Catacomb Cultures of post-Neolithic Europe (Sulimirski 1970: 122, 223). Despite enormous interest in ancient burial practices and the vast body of data concerning this custom, it has been largely ignored in the archaeological literature. At most, it is usually dismissed as the violent and destructive reaction to grief (Lorimer 1934: 58–9; Hughes 1991: 7).

The common features linking these 'retainer' or 'slave' burials are as follows. They are found alongside burials which are distinct from the typical burial practices of the culture because of the elaborateness of the tomb/grave and the immense wealth of the grave furniture. There usually is no evidence for mutilation of the corpse or of violent death (Emery 1954: 142; Woolley 1934: 35) and the provision of grave goods is sometimes attested (Emery: 142). The practice of human sacrifice alongside rich, 'royal' or 'chief' graves appears to be confined to the formative stage of hierarchical development, associated with an emergent elite. The implication is that these burials were used as part of funerary ritual of emergent elites, to display their wealth and power, and also to provide for their comfort in the afterlife.

Retainer burials have been suggested for a number of Cypro-Geometric burials from the Lapithos region: Lapithos-Kastros Tombs 412, 417, 420, 422 (Gjerstad 1934: 217, 228) and Lapithos-Prostemenos T.74 (Pieridou 1965: 75). The 'victims' of this alleged ritual consist of between one and three burials deposited in the *dromos* of the chamber tomb. They usually had no grave furniture, though there was a single jug deposited with the three skeletons in the *dromos* of T.412 (Gjerstad 1934: 217) and a jug and crater were deposited with the three *dromos* burials in T.422 (*ibid.*: 245). Their identification as sacrificial burials depends on the following evidence. The 'victims' were not given full burial rites. They were excluded from burial in the tomb chamber and were not provided with the usual funerary assemblage. Often the skeleton partially underlay the *stomion* packing (Tombs 417 and 74), displaying a disregard for the corpse, or possibly fear of the dead 'victim', hence it had to be weighed down. Fear of the dead 'sacrificial victim' might also apply to the treatment of the uppermost body in the *dromos* of T.422, whose lower body and torso were covered by two stone slabs, with a third one placed across the neck (*ibid.*: 243–4). The cursory treatment of the 'victims' extends to the way in which they were deposited in the *dromos*. Rather than being laid out in the customary extended dorsal position, they were squashed into a limited area, often on top of each other. They might be placed in a contracted position on their side, or else in an extended position, lying prone. The skeleton in the *dromos* of T.74 and the uppermost skeleton in the *dromos* of T.422 appear to have been bound (*ibid.*:

fig. 89) and Gjerstad suggests that the middle skeleton in the *dromos* of T.422 had been mutilated.

There are problems, however,with the interpretation of these *dromos* burials as sacrificial victims. Firstly, a bound body cannot automatically be identified as a sacrificial victim. The male buried in the chamber of Kythera T.4, for example, appears to have had his arms tied tightly behind his back and his ankles bound together. Yet he had been admitted to the formal burial chamber and was provided with a fine array of grave gifts and should be interpreted as the principle occupant of the tomb rather than a retainer or sacrificial victim. Moreover, comparative 'slave' burials in other areas do not tend to be bound, nor are they mutilated.

The three skeletons in the *dromos* of Lapithos-Kastros T.412 are also problematic. They were squashed into a hollowed-out part of the *dromos*, where it changes direction sharply. As Gjerstad notes (*ibid.*: 216), the original entrance to the *dromos* was at the point where it turned in a north-north-westerly direction but this was subsequently hollowed out and widened, making room for the burials, and a new shorter *dromos* was dug, leading to these burials. The implication is that these modifications were subsequent to the initial construction of the tomb and, therefore, that the *dromos* burials post-dated the burial in the chamber. If they were contemporary, one would assume that the *dromos* would have been cut with sufficient room for the 'sacrificial victims'. There is no evidence that the tomb contained more than a single inhumation and so it cannot be postulated that the 'victims' were sacrificed to a later incumbent than the one for whom the tomb was originally cut. The evidence indicates that the *dromos* of T.412 was re-used for three burials after the original use of the tomb chamber and did not contain 'human sacrifices'. This can be paralleled by an ordinary CG III burial in a hollowed-out part of the *dromos* of Lapithos-Kastros T.428 (*ibid.*: 259). A similar explanation may apply to the *dromos* burials of T.422. These are dated to CG III by the associated pottery and there is no evidence for use of the tomb's chamber this late. It also seems rather strange that an individual whose only grave furniture comprised a single iron obelos should be associated with such an elaborate example of funerary display. Likewise, the chamber burial in T.412 cannot be classed amongst the wealthiest, high status burials of CG I.

Instead, an alternative explanation should be sought for these *dromos* burials (Tombs 412 and 422), which incorporates their exclusion from the tomb chamber, their rather cursory treatment and the limited provision of funerary furniture. Perhaps they constitute later sacrifices in honour of the deceased, long after the original use of the tomb, or else some form of 'scapegoat' sacrifice? Otherwise, they might be explained as deviants from society, hence their exclusion from the normal funerary treatment accorded the rest of society.

The accumulation of evidence for the *dromos* burials of Lapithos-Kastros Tombs 417, 420 and Lapithos-Prostemenos T.74, however, may identify

them as slave burials sacrificed as part of the funerary ritual accompanying the principal burial(s) in the tomb chamber. In particular, the closer association between these *dromos* burials and those in the chamber should be stressed: they were underlying the *stomion* packing, thereby indicating that they were probably contemporary with the latest burial in the chamber. The burials in the chambers of Tombs 417 and 420 in particular stand out as being amongst the wealthiest CG I burials, with restricted grave goods that might be interpreted as status symbols (Steel 1993). These sacrifices probably represent one of the most elaborate status symbols employed in the funerary ritual of the CG period. The death of the individuals who received sacrificial victims was of such great import for the community that it required the death of other individuals to satisfy their funerary ritual and possibly to serve them in the afterlife.

These slave/retainer burials are a restricted phenomenon in Cyprus, both spatially and chronologically. So far in the CG period they have been attested only at Lapithos, in association with the intrusive, Mycenaean-type chamber tomb. Chronologically, they are restricted to the very beginning of the Early Iron Age and are contemporary with the foundation of the city kingdoms, which might support the association of this custom with the development of stratified societies, or the crystallisation of an elite group noted above. Not all the Lapithos *dromos* burials may be interpreted in this way. They might represent 'scapegoat' sacrifices, or sacrifices offered in honour of the dead at a later date (Herodotus *Histories* 4.71).

CONCLUSION

It has been commonly accepted that human sacrifice was characteristic of more primitive societies and was gradually displaced by animal sacrifice as society became more civilised. At Carthage, though, it should be noted that human sacrifice actually became more frequent in the fourth century BC, rather than decreasing as the settlement became more urbanised and civilised. In fact, it persisted at Carthage until the city's destruction in 146 BC and at other Phoenician colonies into the third century AD (Brown 1991: 13). Instead, the suggestion that animal substitutes replaced human victims is very much dependent on views held by ancient scholars and the numerous Greek myths illustrating such a process (Hughes 1991).

Actual archaeological evidence for human sacrifice in the Greek world is at best difficult to substantiate, despite numerous references to this rite in ancient texts (Hughes 1991). Certainly the ancient authors believed that at one time human sacrifice was practised in the Greek world. The only certain archaeological evidence for human sacrifice comes from the numerous tophet burials in the western Phoenician colonies.

The different functions of ritual human slaughter should also be stressed. It is generally thought that human sacrifice to a deity was mainly

used to avert disaster, or to appease the gods, whom the dedicants believed they had angered. The evidence from Carthage suggests, however, that human sacrifice was commonly used in return for favours, in much the same way that animals were offered to the gods in other areas. Either way, it is distinct from the ritual slaughter of humans as part of a funeral ceremony. The principal recipient of funerary 'sacrifice' was a mere mortal, though presumably of high status. Though traditionally dismissed as the violent frenzy of grief, it is increasingly apparent that the function of this ritual (both *suttee* and retainer burials) was to honour the deceased and to increase their comfort in the afterlife. Archaeologically, it appears that retainer burials are more typical of formative stages of complex society.

In short, it is clearly shown that the ritual slaughter of humans was not restricted to more primitive societies but was found amongst various cultures of differing degrees of complexity. It was widespread throughout the ancient world and cannot be dismissed merely as a characteristic of the decadent and barbaric Orient. To allow a better understanding of the use of human 'sacrifice' and its role in society one needs to appreciate the distinctions that can be made between the different categories of the practice.

NOTES

1 A tophet has recently been identified at Tyre (Seeden 1991).
2 Recent excavations near Amathus, Cyprus, may have uncovered a Phoenician tophet, to the east of the acropolis.

CHAPTER THREE

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL GROUP DEFINITION IN THE LANDSCAPE OF RURAL GREECE[1]

NIGEL SPENCER

Abstract: The chapter considers a series of decoratively built towers and enclosures in the hinterland of the city centres of Lesbos as a case-study of the 'tower phenomenon' known on many Greek islands, structures which have been viewed hitherto in a strictly functional way. Other fields of archaeology have taken non-functional approaches to monumental construction work in locales marginal to settlement, emphasising the importance of the 'social' element in marginal areas. The study examines the building work from the anthropological viewpoint, emphasising that marginality and the possible boundaries formed by these structures can be viewed on more than one level.

INTRODUCTION

Studies of group interaction and definition, together with the importance in establishing boundaries, have been the focus for many anthropologists and archaeological theorists over the last decade. The importance of culturally-specific symbols in border areas is one aspect which has been emphasised in such studies (Hodder 1982: 56–7, 84–5; de Atley and Findlow 1984: 2; Trinkaus 1984: 35–8). Competition over natural resources in a frontier area has been seen as another significant issue (Hodder 1982: 27–31, 103; Trinkaus 1984: 43; Yesner 1985: 52–3), with two possible consequences of such interaction. Firstly, there might be conflict and sharp boundary definition between the neighbouring social groups (Hodder, *ibid.*) or alternatively, to avoid competition, the groups in the margins might become resource specialists, more able to co-exist in the same landscape (Yesner 1985: 51).

The anthropological studies have emphasised especially that the margins must be examined in terms of the social groups living there (Spence,

Pihl and Molto 1984: 117). This view has led to further questions such as the relationship of the central core settlement to its outlying satellites and population groups on the frontier (Hantman 1984: 57–8), the possible purpose of the core group in establishing the frontier in the first place (de Atley 1984: 15) and the survival of social structure and hierarchies in a marginal or frontier area (Hantman 1984: 60–2). With the emphasis on social groups in marginal areas, the communication channels of each particular landscape are obviously important (Spence, Pihl and Molto 1984: 136), and it has also been emphasised that frontiers should be seen as neither static nor impermeable (Lerner 1984: 67).

Despite the attention given to the themes of group identity and interaction at the margins of territory in other cultures, there have been few attempts to examine these ideas in Ancient Greece, especially from the archaeological data. Morgan and Whitelaw (1991) considered the interaction of the Early Iron Age settlements in the Argive plain through the ceramic record and highlighted the shifting dominant influences of certain sites in the plain through time. Elsewhere in this volume Jonathan Hall has also examined group definition in the Argolid with reference to the concept and possible definition of 'ethnicity'. Both these studies focused largely on data drawn from the *polis* centres, and it was Snodgrass (1980: 38–40) and de Polignac (1984) who emphasised the importance of more remote areas of *polis* territory for group definition in the Archaic period, especially in the sphere of cult practice.

There are other archaeological remains, however (in addition to cult sites), which can be utilised for the study of the outer margins of *polis* territory and for approaching the problem of frontiers and group definition. In many parts of the Greek mainland and also on many Aegean islands, rural areas far from the central settlements of the *poleis* exhibit a large number of isolated towers, often accompanied by associated enclosures. These conspicuous remains are sometimes the only visible antiquities in the hinterland of the ancient city centres and continue to receive much scholarly attention (Nowicka 1975; Lawrence 1979: 187–97; Osborne 1986; 1987: 63–9; Cherry *et al.* 1991: 285–98; Camp 1991; Ashton 1991). The majority of these towers are approximately square (although there are some round towers as well) and the most common dimensions are 8–9 m. In nearly all cases they date to the Classical or Hellenistic periods, with a few earlier ones built at the end of the Archaic period.

On some islands towers ring the coast as if to emphasise that their construction was designed to counter threats to the security of the island populations (Fredrich 1906: 277; Ashton 1991; Cherry *et al.* 1991: 292–3 and table 13.7). The strategic importance of these installations at significant points for communication, defence and refuge against incursions by enemies (often neighbouring states) has been stressed also for those towers on the Greek mainland (Keramapoullou 1931; Lord 1939; 1941; Ober 1985; Camp 1991). Other reasons for the building work in different

regions were proposed as well, however, because it was clear in some cases that the towers were located in positions which, topographically at least, were not what one might call 'strategic' at all (Dörpfeld 1927: 256–62; Young 1956a; 1956b). For these towers and enclosures more emphasis was placed upon the finds associated with the edifices in the hypotheses proposed for their function. The existence of cisterns, wells, presses, millstones or even threshing floors nearby convinced many scholars that a link to agricultural activity in the immediate vicinity was significant (Dörpfeld, *ibid.*; Young 1956a; 1956b; Osborne 1986; 1987: 63–70; Cherry *et al.* 1991). In Attica and Thasos, the potential to exploit nearby sources of raw materials was another 'non-strategic' hypothesis for the construction of rural towers (Young 1956a: 142; Osborne 1986: 173, 175 n. 16, cited in Cherry *et al.* 1991: 292).

TOWERS AND ENCLOSURES IN RURAL LESBOS

The present chapter is an examination of the north-eastern Aegean island of Lesbos (fig. 3.1, inset) where there are also a large number of towers and enclosures in the rural areas far from the *polis* centres. Lesbos is a useful case-study of issues such as group definition and marginality because it is one of the few Aegean islands which was divided up between more than one city-state.[2] The countryside areas lying between each city centre (where the towers and enclosures were built) are therefore obviously important in questions of inter-city interaction. I shall examine this last issue, together with many of those raised by the anthropological studies detailed above, in the following examination of the towers and enclosures. It will become evident that the issue of interaction is complex and that the structures allow a perspective of margins and boundaries on more than one level.

All the towers in Lesbos lie in the centre and west of the island and can be split into two groups on account of some basic features of their typology (fig. 3.1). One group of nine freestanding towers parallel those found on many other islands and over much of the Greek mainland. All are approximately square (with dimensions of 7–9 m) and are constructed with isodomic masonry. This latter feature suggested to Koldewey that the towers dated to the Hellenistic period (Koldewey 1890: 62). Comparisons of their size and plan with other towers outside Lesbos also suggest a similar date, with both features corresponding closely to many late Classical and Hellenistic towers in mainland Greece and on the Aegean islands (Lawrence 1979: 189). The other group of towers and associated enclosures are very different, however, and it is these which are to be the subject of study here.

In exactly the same area of the island in which the nine square towers with isodomic masonry are located there is also a series of nineteen

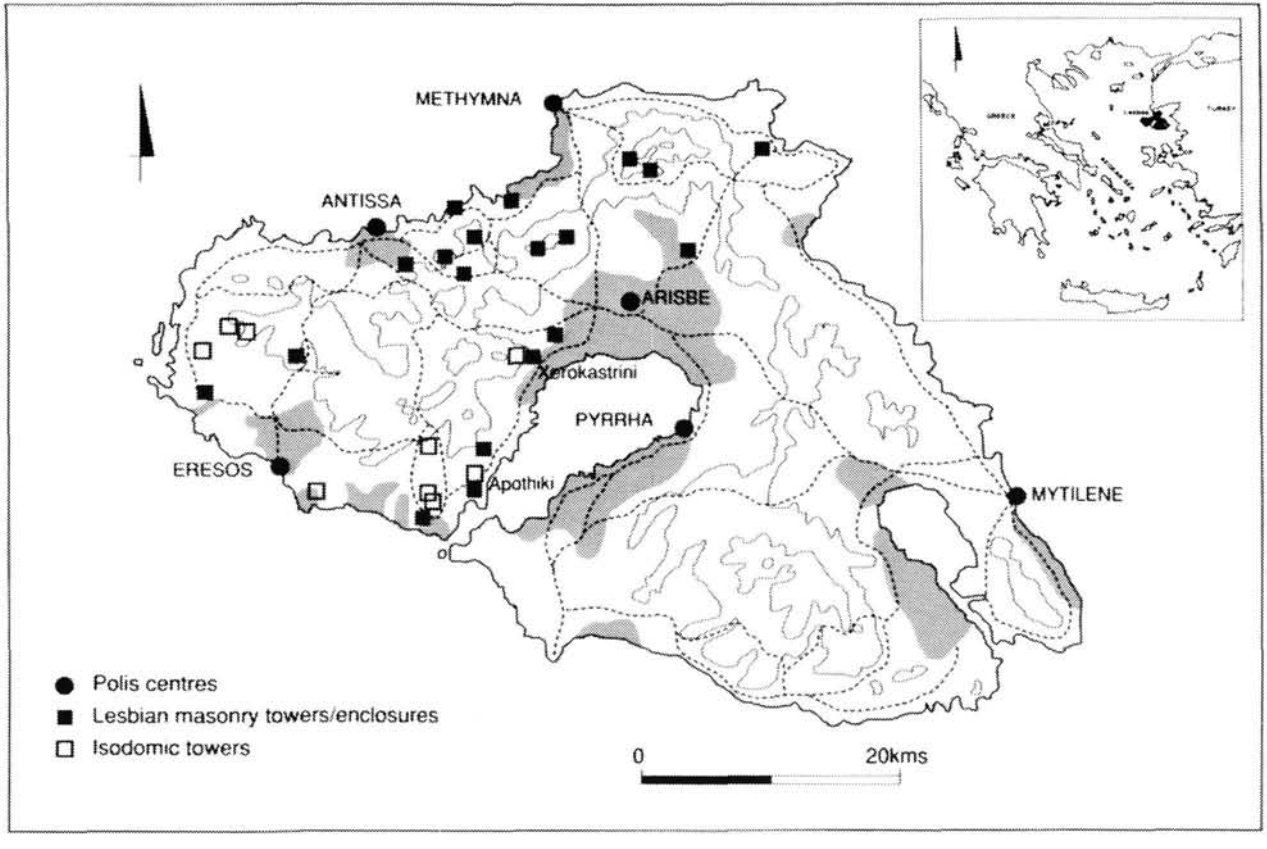


Figure 3.1 Lesbos and the position of the island in the Aegean. Contours marked at 300 m intervals. Dotted lines represent the natural communication routes in the island. Shaded areas represent the areas of extensive plains

towers with associated enclosures, or sometimes merely an enclosure (often of irregular shape), built in the so-called 'Lesbian' style of polygonal masonry (Koldewey 1890: 30–1, 87; Kontis 1973: 81–3; 1978: 261-367 *passim*; Axiotis 1991; Spencer forthcoming, a). These structures are unusual in many respects: where the dimensions and plans of towers are recorded they are unusually large; there are no entrances at ground level; the walls of both towers and enclosures are very substantial (ranging from 1 m to 2.5 m in width); furthermore, the irregular shape of the enclosure walls also finds few parallels elsewhere (Kontis 1978). In addition to all these noteworthy features, there is also the intricate style of masonry employed, the Lesbian style of polygonal masonry.

THE LESBIAN STYLE OF POLYGONAL MASONRY

The Lesbian style of polygonal masonry is defined by the curved edges which the polygonal blocks possess (fig. 3.2). This curved feature is referred to by Aristotle when he speaks about the use of a strip of lead in Lesbian architecture. When describing some situations which cannot be covered easily by a fixed law but need flexibility, he states that: 'For

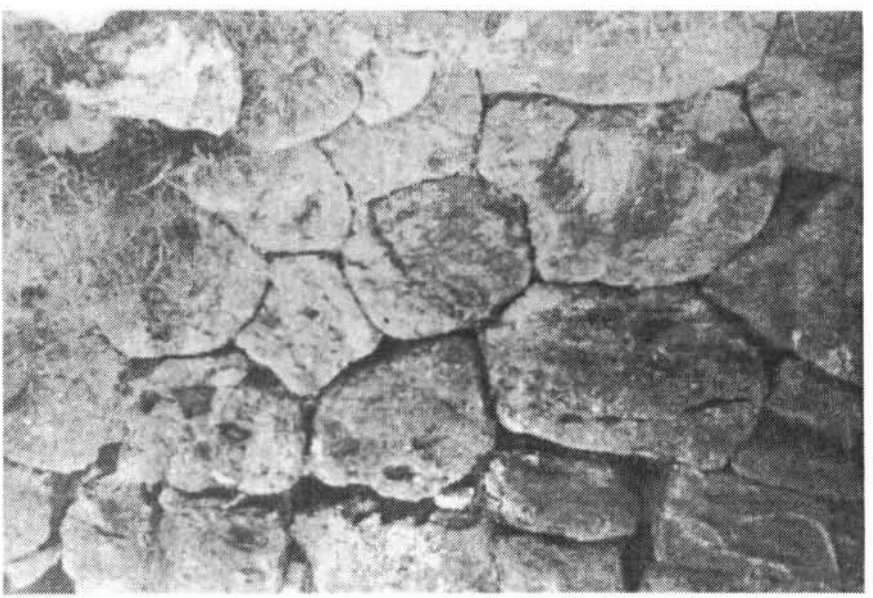


Figure 3.2 Lesbian masonry wall at Xerokastrini. *Source* R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Harvard University Press, 1941) (Scranton 1941), fig. 4, p. 26. Reprinted by permission of Harvard University Press

something which has no constant, the rule [which covers it] also has no constant, like the leaden rule of Lesbian architecture which is fitted to the shape of the stone and is not fixed' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1137b.29–32). This reference is taken to mean that when the Lesbian masonry walls were being built there was a template of lead used to calculate the curve required to fit each stone in the wall. The curve of one block was measured and the template was then taken to the next stone to cut the required curved edge, ensuring that no large gaps were left between the blocks. It is abundantly clear that this is an unnecessarily complicated method of wall construction undertaken by a skilled workforce, and its application elsewhere in Greece emphasises that it is an expensive, prestige style designed to impress. Examples of such prestige contexts where Lesbian masonry is employed include the massive terrace wall at Delphi below the Archaic Temple of Apollo and at Rhamnous in Attica, both of which would have been designed to create large impressions on worshippers at the sanctuaries (Scranton 1941: 160–1).

Regarding the probable date of this group of towers and enclosures in Lesbos, it is impossible to come to secure conclusions because none of the sites has been excavated and diagnostic material is rarely found from surface survey. Furthermore, as was noted by Cherry, any unstratified material which is found could of course either predate or postdate the actual construction of a tower (Cherry *et al.* 1991: 291). None the less, the fundamental differences from the freestanding smaller, square towers of isodomic masonry in the same part of the island (probably of Classical or Hellenistic date) make it almost certain that the Lesbian masonry structures date to a different period. Given that this is the case, all indications (including the use of the Lesbian style of masonry) suggest that they are, in fact, earlier. Elsewhere in Lesbos, mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and western Turkey the securely dated examples of Lesbian masonry are all Archaic in date, except for one archaising use in a grave monument in the Kerameikos (Spencer 1993). The known sequence of masonry styles at all sites in Lesbos also suggests an Archaic date for Lesbian masonry walls (*ibid.*). It is not possible to be more specific, nor to create a relative sequence of dates for the sites, but it would appear most likely on the evidence currently available that the towers and enclosures of Lesbian masonry date to some point in the Archaic period.

RURAL STRUCTURES AND MARGINALITY

In searching for the rationale behind the construction of these Lesbian masonry towers and enclosures in Lesbos, it is difficult to draw close parallels with the proposed functions of towers elsewhere in Greece. The main reason for this is that the sites in Lesbos exhibit none of the associated finds apparent at similar structures in the rest of Greece and the Aegean. There are no cisterns, wells, presses or threshing floors and

the pottery is almost always a sparse scatter of plain wares. One exception to this last pattern is at Apothiki, where the pottery sherds associated with the massive Lesbian masonry terrace wall are nearly entirely fine wares of different periods (from the Archaic to the Roman period).

With regard to the locations of the Lesbian masonry towers and enclosures, there is an apparent liking for sites which lie either at the edges of plains in which the *polis* centres lie, or slightly beyond, on or above natural routes into these plains (features highlighted on fig. 3.1). The majority are high up in such positions, on hilltops or mountaintops, and possess panoramic views. These locations mean that the structures are what one might call 'marginal' in some sense. Simply in terms of distance, all are further than 3 km from the nearest *polis*; the majority lie 6–12 km away, with four even over 12 km distant. Despite the large size of the island, with five *polis* centres in the area where the towers and enclosures are concentrated, it is something of an achievement for them all to lie at such distances from any central settlement. But there are further aspects of marginality too. The majority lie in areas probably only ever utilised as pasturage, a noteworthy feature since their close relationship with the main communication channels of the landscape would have made them prominent features in the seasonal movement of flocks between upland and lowland areas. And finally, those towers and enclosures which are not far from central settlements often lie just beyond the edges of extensive plains, literally at the 'margin' of the most intensively cultivated areas.

The lack of close parallels for the structures in Lesbos, which are unusual in terms of their size and irregular shape, their ornate masonry, as well as the absence of associated equipment often found with towers and enclosures, makes it difficult to ascribe 'functions' to the sites confidently as has been done more plausibly for the towers and enclosures elsewhere in Greece. It is still possible, however, to consider other, non-functional questions.

For example, it is clear that the edifices have been the object of a significant investment of time and effort; large amounts of stone have been quarried, the blocks have then been transported to sometimes very remote and precipitous hilltops, no easy job even if the quarry was a local one; the stone has then been carefully cut and fitted in a very ornate style (which I noted earlier is undoubtedly an expensive prestige style, chosen often for locations and contexts designed to impress). Implicit in all these tasks is the ability of those who arranged the construction work to employ a skilled workforce, for what must have been a considerable number of days. Yet despite all this effort put into the construction of the towers and enclosure complexes, these edifices with substantial, decoratively built walls are without any recognisable farming equipment, or simply in locations unsuitable both for this practice or natural resource exploitation (the suggested function of towers and enclosures elsewhere).

Other reasons for investing such a considerable amount of time and effort in a building may of course include its *symbolic* value, with the person (or people) responsible for the construction work accumulating their so-called 'symbolic capital' in the investment (Gordon 1990: 193–4). If such issues are relevant in the case-study of Lesbos, it is important to consider what types of symbolic construction were employed in marginal areas of other Archaic Greek *poleis*, why such investment was made and where the symbols were placed.

CULT MARGINALITY IN ARCHAIC GREECE

The importance of Archaic cult places in relation to *polis* territory has been noted above. De Polignac (1984: 42–4) emphasised the roles played by cult places located in marginal areas or at the edges of plains such as the Argive and Samian Heraia, locations paralleled by some of the enclosures and towers in Lesbos. Polignac also noted the apparent importance of the establishment of marginal installations by newly founded colonies (*ibid.*: 93–126). This last model is relevant to Archaic Lesbos because post-prehistoric occupation at four of the *polis* centres (Arisbe, Methymna, Antissa and Eresos) can be traced only from the Geometric and Archaic periods, implying that some of the Aiolian Greeks were as new to Lesbos as those colonising groups de Polignac cites as immediately being concerned with defining their territories in Sicily (*ibid.*: 110–13). The importance of defining one's outer margins would have been heightened in Lesbos with six *poleis* co-existing in the island and competition between neighbouring ones for territory becoming an issue.

Regarding the establishment of marginal sites of cult practice in Lesbos, probably only one of the Lesbian masonry structures is a centre of cult activity. This is at Apothiki, where many features of the sites set it apart from the other towers and enclosures; the Lesbian masonry wall is on a massive scale, the wall is only a terrace (which creates a large rectangular platform, with a wide ramp at one end) and the associated sherd scatter is nearly entirely of fine wares. Features such as these suggest that one is dealing with a site of cult practice (Koldewey 1890: 44) and emphasise that the cult aspect of marginality does exist in the island (Apothiki is about as far from a *polis* centre as it is possible to be, see fig. 3.1). The other Lesbian masonry towers and enclosures do not qualify as cult sites, however, so other possible roles must be explored to explain their existence.

MILITARY MARGINALITY IN ARCHAIC GREECE

An obvious suggestion for another type of marginal installation would be those of military purpose, perhaps serving as watchtowers or signalling posts. Although the massive scale and prominent locations of many of

the structures may suggest that they could quite possibly have served military purposes, finding parallels for such defensive strategies is difficult in Archaic Greece. The emphasis on hoplite warfare (for which level plains were more preferable) tended to militate against putting emphasis on the more rugged, marginal areas of the *chora* (Ober 1985: 32). In the Classical period such installations were more common, when there appeared to be more desire to defend the economic base of the *polis*, namely the whole *chora*, and many Classical square towers on the Attica/Boiotia frontier are seen as marginal installations defining inter-*polis* boundaries (Camp 1991). In the Archaic period, however, apart from a few of the earliest towers on Keos and Siphnos (Cherry *et al.* 1991: 288; Ashton 1991), there does not yet seem to be either the desire or the concern to invest heavily in large edifices (arguably of military purpose) in the outer, more marginal regions of the *polis* territory. It is only the *polis* centres themselves which are walled. Another problem in proposing a military explanation for the structures in Lesbos is that some sites are very distant from the next enclosure/tower and therefore are invisible from each other; they are not really a system or network at all. One might have every justification in emphasising the strategic natures of particular installations, but they are merely isolated entities (above a natural route, or at the edge of an extensive plain) and not part of any military network across the landscape.

BOUNDARIES AND GROUP DEFINITION IN THE LANDSCAPE

Although it is difficult to define the particular type of margin or boundary formed by the towers and enclosures, in the remainder of this chapter I will return briefly to the 'social' issues raised at the start, namely the interaction and definition of groups with special reference to the marginal areas. For example, what do the towers and enclosures imply about the relationship of the central settlement to the distant lands in terms of the population groups in the *polis*? What do they say about the hierarchies of *polis* society in rural areas? Were the boundaries of Greek *poleis* static and what is the significance of the link to the communication channels in the landscape? The discussion will be subdivided to emphasise that there are three different levels of boundary on which one can examine the structures in Lesbos in terms of group definition and that the towers and enclosures are multi-valent installations.

Boundaries and social group definition at an 'intra-*polis*' level

Firstly, regarding the type of social divisions or boundaries formed at an intra-*polis* level, one must ask who had sufficient interest in the marginal

lands of the *poleis* to invest heavily in the area. In other words, who was responsible for constructing the finely built towers and enclosures and why was the investment made?

It has been noted already that Lesbian masonry is associated elsewhere with prestige structures and also that the building represents a significant investment in time and effort. From these premises, if one goes on to ask who would have the capacity to supply such amounts of raw materials and employ a skilled workforce, the conclusion to which one inevitably comes is a very small proportion of the upper echelons of society. In this respect therefore one can identify a division or definition of status within *polis* society (literally) being constructed in the marginal lands. Yet it is noteworthy that the elites were investing heavily in such marginal areas when it was this group who lived in the *asty*, the central settlement at the heart of the *polis*. In the literary sources, these more wealthy elements of the population always seem preoccupied with events at the *polis* centre, showing apparent disgust, ignorance or simply very little concern with the areas further afield (Osborne 1987: 16–18; 55–6; for this attitude in the Archaic Lesbian elite see Alkaios' lament while in exile from the *polis* centre of Mytilene, Lobel and Page 1955: fragment G2 lines 16–25). Given this attitude, the investment in areas so distant is even more remarkable and requires explanation.

A recent commentary discussing the possible reasons for the existence of towers in the island of Keos suggested the following: 'Disposable wealth can, of course, be diverted to many alternative ends, and the channeling of it into the erection of a particular kind of structure could well be regarded as a form of emulation among the wealthy, *dictated as much by fashion as function*' (Cherry *et al.* 1991: 297, with my emphasis). Such a suggestion is especially relevant to Lesbos because, as indicated above, the location and associated artefact assemblages of the towers and enclosures do not suggest that heavy use was made of them. On one level, the suggestion that they might merely have been the results of peer emulation is therefore quite attractive.[3]

The 'elite emulation' hypothesis is an interesting way of examining the decoratively built towers and enclosures on a 'local' scale, seeing them as status symbols and marking social differentiation within the *polis*. Therefore this makes the construction of the ornate towers and enclosures a noteworthy example of social hierarchies being exhibited even in the marginal lands of states. Such social distinctions would obviously be more visible in the daily interaction at the central settlements, but to have these strata visibly demonstrated even in the furthest reaches of the city's lands is obviously an important extension of such relationships. This definition of social groups within a single *polis* cannot be sufficient, however, to explain completely the roles played by the towers and enclosures. As was noted above, the locations of the majority are strategic in some sense (on hilltops with commanding views, above natural routes, or beyond extensive plains),

and this leads on to a second, wider level of group definition at which one can propose a different role was played, namely an 'inter-*polis*' level.

Interaction between *poleis* in Archaic Lesbos

The interaction between co-existing *poleis* in the island is obviously an important issue to consider in Archaic Lesbos and therefore the marginal, outer edges of *polis* territory where the towers and enclosures are located must have been significant in this process. Herodotus emphasises that such interaction was taking place in the Archaic period by noting that once there had been six Lesbian *poleis*, but in his own day only five remained because at some (indeterminate) point in the past Methymna enslaved the *polis* of Arisbe (*Histories* 1.151.2). Such an event strongly suggests that internal pressures existed within the island in the Archaic period, since it is probably not a coincidence that Methymna chose to annex not its closest neighbour but rather Arisbe which possessed the largest plain in the island, an area of great agricultural potential. It was also at this same time that Methymna was sending out colonies to the Troad (Strabo *Geography* 13.610) and other large numbers of colonies in the Troad later remembered as Aiolian, or specifically Lesbian, date to the Archaic period (*ibid.*: 13.599; Thucydides *Historiae* 3.50.3; for the Archaic archaeological evidence supporting the links to Lesbos of these colonies listed in the literary sources see Koldewey 1891; Bayne 1963; Cook 1973).

Whatever the exact reasons were for the annexation of Arisbe and the colonising activity (reasons which quite possibly included rising population numbers in the developing cities), it seems that one of the main motives behind the expansion of one *polis* was to gain a significant new resource area. The concern over delineating and symbolically laying claim to the outer margins of one's territory in a time of heightened competition for resources would therefore have become of special importance, just as was emphasised by the ethnographic models from other cultures summarised at the start of this chapter. The topographical relationship of the towers and enclosures to the entrances and exits of the plains which must have been the central production areas of the *poleis* is therefore obviously of note, especially in a period when self-sufficiency in agricultural production was preferable to relying on more haphazard imports from elsewhere.

'Greek' and 'Native' group definition in Lesbos

A third model to apply to the towers and enclosures is one of 'ethnic' definition, suggested by Osborne to be a factor behind tower construction in Thasos and Attica and also an issue raised by de Polignac with regard to the establishment of liminal cult places by the Greek colonists in Sicily.

In Thasos and Attica, Osborne stressed that the construction of towers had been a by-product of a type of ethnic definition created by the influx of non-Greek slaves to work the mines in both areas (Osborne 1987: 67, 78–81). In Thasos especially, the mining activity created a division in *polis* society with the non-Greek slaves occupying the rural districts (near to their places of work) whilst the Greeks lived closer to the central settlement (*ibid.*: 79). The consequent insecurity and need for 'self-help' felt by the Greeks who did have plots of land to farm in the *chora* or actually lived there was symbolised in one way by the construction of towers (*ibid.*: 67, 79–81).

For Sicily, de Polignac (1984: 110–13) hypothesised that there had been a policy of deliberate exclusion of the Natives by the Greek colonists from certain areas. More precisely, he suggested that the Greeks had arrived, displaced the previous Native populations from the more favourable coastal plains and defined the area perceived as belonging to themselves with a series of cult places located in the more marginal area beyond the plains. Although only one of the marginal Lesbian masonry structures (at Apothiki) qualifies as a cult place, one can ask whether either of these models of 'ethnic' division is applicable more generally, and whether the construction of the towers and enclosures in Lesbos represented a definition or exclusion of the Natives by the Greeks.

The settlement pattern of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age periods in Lesbos shows much overlap, with heavy emphasis on coastal sites for habitation activity. Presumably therefore some interaction between the Greeks and the previous inhabitants of Anatolian origin would have been inevitable upon the Greek colonisation of the island in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. But after the initial interaction, were 'ethnic' boundaries stressed in the society of the Archaic period and, if so, how was this done? Furthermore, did the Greeks set up the towers and enclosures at the limit of the coastal plains as their own symbols of possession either because large numbers of non-Greeks were living in the marginal areas beyond or because they had displaced previous Native groups in establishing their six coastal settlements which developed into the Archaic *polis* centres?

Adopting the criterion of separate descent myths for 'ethnic' definition proposed by Jonathan Hall elsewhere in this volume, there may be evidence for distinct bodies of Greeks and Natives in Archaic Lesbos. One set of myths was linked to an originally non-Greek figure named Makar who was ruler of Lesbos in the *Iliad* (24.544) and was said to have colonised the island also (Diodorus Siculus *Historical Library* 5.57.2, 5.81.3). Another completely separate myth developed, however, which linked the colonisation of the island to Penthilos and Gras, the descendants of Orestes (the references for this tradition in the literary sources are collected by J. Bérard 1959: 22–8). This last myth may be

known largely through later source material, but its significance even by the early Archaic period is clear from the name adopted by one of the aristocratic *gene* in seventh-century Mytilene, the 'Penthilidai' or 'Descendants of Penthilos' (Lobel and Page 1955: Sappho fragment 17, Alkaios fragments D12, D17, R1.ii; Aristotle *Politics* 1311b.23–31).[4] One could hypothesise that at a time of heightened tension with the Greek population, with the prospect of exclusion from the new socio-political framework of the *polis* (and all the rights which membership of such a body would entail), myths surrounding the originally non-Greek figure Makar may have become a strong 'ethnic' focus for the Native elements in early Archaic Lesbos.[5]

When one turns to questions such as the definition of distinct 'ethnic' groups in the material record and the possible exclusion of Natives by the Greeks from parts of the island, it is impossible to provide secure answers. The only substantial remains of Archaic material at many sites (the Aiolic grey ware pottery) predominated both before and after the arrival of the Greeks and it is impossible to know who produced the ceramics in the different periods and what import, if any, may have been attached to them in terms of group identity or symbolism.[6] The Archaic archaeological data does give two hints, however, which suggest that, rather than an exclusion of one group by another from certain areas, two groups co-existed in *polis* society. Firstly, there was worship of the Anatolian mother goddess Kybele side by side with more recognisably Greek patron deities at the heart of the *polis* centre in Mytilene and also in Eresos (Chatzi 1973: 515–17; Archontidou-Argyri 1989: 61, 73). Secondly, an unusual order of monumental religious architecture which had its roots in Anatolia and the Near East was employed in cult sites used by the Greeks and also in funerary monuments (Euangelidis 1924–5; 1927; 1928; Chatzi 1972; Betancourt 1977).

The current evidence therefore seems to indicate that there existed in Archaic Lesbos a society made up of both Aiolian Greeks and remnants of the previous population who had originated from north-west Anatolia; that both groups lived in the same areas; and that each preserved elements of its own religious beliefs, architectural and ceramic traditions, thereby emphasising its own particular identity within this 'mixed' framework in contexts and at times when it was considered important to do so.

As was noted for the Argolid by Jonathan Hall, it is significant that these identities seem to have been heavily stressed when the new socio-political alignments of the *polis* were taking shape. By the end of the Archaic period the unusual monumental religious architecture fell out of fashion and the goddess Kybele became associated increasingly with Greek deities. In this light, it is therefore difficult to see the towers and enclosures as symbols of 'ethnic' division or exclusion set up by the Aiolian Greeks as suggested by Osborne for Attica and Thasos and by de Polignac for Sicily.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the possible 'boundaries' marked by the towers and enclosures between different interacting social groups in the marginal lands of Lesbian *poleis* can be viewed on more than one level. Therefore to see the whole group all as a single sort of structure, set up for a specific purpose, to serve a readily defined function, is not the best approach to the problem of their *raison d'être* because each played out a multiplicity of roles.

Firstly, they represent great investment in distant areas by elite groups who resided at the central settlement of the *polis*, emphasising the integration of the *chora* and *asty* (Spencer forthcoming, a). This integration of central settlements with the hinterland and frontiers of states has been noted elsewhere in Greece (Osborne 1987: 67–9; Wallace-Hadrill 1991: xiii; Snodgrass: 1991: 5) and also in the studies of other cultures summarised in the introduction. The construction of such ornate structures in the countryside by the elite, quite possibly as a result of peer-emulation, also symbolises, however, the preservation of the status divisions in society even in the marginal areas of the city's territory.

Yet the structures were also in locations significant for interaction on a wider scale between different *poleis*. In this respect, it is noteworthy that many were closely related to the communication channels in central and western Lesbos, locations which were considered vital to group interaction and definition in the other anthropological case studies detailed at the beginning. On this wider level, they were the symbols of the *polis*' title to the best lands, set up to inform neighbours or new settlers that the land was not 'free game', and they watched over the gateways to the important resource areas of the state. In such locations the enclosures and towers may have taken on added meaning when there were periods of inter-*polis* tension and at these times 'borders' and 'boundaries' probably became more rigidly defined. More usually, however, the boundary formed by the structures on this wider level simply served as a permeable membrane, as it had to do in order to accommodate the seasonal ebb and flow of the country populations between their different pastures and habitations.

NOTES

1 Thanks are due to Jonathan Hall, Robin Osborne, Sue Alcock and Richard Bradley for advice and comments on earlier drafts of this paper, but of course full responsibility for the arguments presented here remains with the author. Funding for the research was provided by the British Academy.

2 Amorgos and Keos are two other islands exhibiting towers which were politically divided in antiquity. For the possibility that the interaction between the independent cities was related to tower construction in the two areas see Boussac and Rougemont 1983 (for Amorgos) and Cherry *et al.* 1991: 293 (for Keos).

3 The typology of the towers found in some regions provides further support for this hypothesis. Although round towers are fairly uncommon in many regions of Greece, on Siphnos *all* the towers in the island are circular, strongly suggesting that emulation was a major influence on the local style of tower built in the island (Young 1956b; Ashton 1991).

4 The importance of this issue of one's descent, lineage and identity in Archaic Lesbian society comes through elsewhere in the fragments of Alkaios' poetry. Alkaios slandered his former ally, but later bitter enemy, Pittakos with the term 'kakopatridas' which was very probably, at least in part, a reference to the latter's foreign ancestry (Lobel and Page 1955: fragment Z24 (= Aristotle *Politics* 1285.a39); Diogenes Laertius *On the Lives of Famous Philosophers* i.74; Suda *Lexicon* s.v. Πιττακός; Page 1955: 169–71).

5 There is an alternative model which should be noted also: two-stage founding genealogies (represented in this case by Makar followed by the Oresteidai) are known elsewhere in Greece and there is sometimes little 'ethnic' import in the first figure appearing less than Greek (Jonathan Hall, pers. comm.). Therefore, in the case of Lesbos, the emphasis on Penthilos by one aristocratic group of Aiolian Greeks in the seventh century could be seen as an elite rather than specifically 'ethnic' claim (*ibid.*).

6 A major problem with the Aiolic grey wares has been, quite simply, their lack of systematic study. Apart from a short article by Winifred Lamb (1932), there has been only the unpublished research of Bayne (1963). The large amounts of the fabric found at Mytilene by Euangelidis, at Pyrrha by Boehlau, at Antissa by Lamb, and at Methymna by Lamb and more recently by the Greek archaeological service have never been fully studied or published.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOMB CULT AND HERO CULT

The uses of the past in Archaic Greece[1]

JAMES WHITLEY

Abstract:This chapter explores the relationship between tomb cults (defined as later cults established over earlier, often Bronze Age, tombs) and hero cults (defined as cults to heroes, named or anonymous) in Archaic Greece. The utility of processual mortuary theory, in particular the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, is assessed. Comparisons are drawn with other times and places where earlier monuments are re-appropriated and re-used at considerably later dates. Questions of the definition of the term 'hero' and of hero-cult are addressed and it is suggested that hero cult *sensu stricto* is a late phenomenon in Archaic Greece. Cults in or over Bronze Age tombs are only distantly related to hero cults. It is proposed that tomb and hero cult can be seen in a wider, comparative perspective and that research into such matters should be seen as part of a wider anthropological enquiry into the ideological uses of the past.

INTRODUCTION

The cults that, in Greek states, were established to heroes have long held an attraction for those interested in Greek religion (Nock 1944). In recent years, however, tomb cult and hero cult have increasingly come under the scrutiny of archaeologists. Both have been seen primarily as aspects of those dramatic changes that took place in the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC – the so-called 'Greek Revolution' or 'Greek Renaissance' (Hägg 1983). Hero cults figure prominently in the works of Antonaccio (1987; 1992; 1993), Coldstream (1976; 1977: 341–57), Snodgrass (1980: 37–40; 1982; 1987: 160–4; 1988), de Polignac (1984: 127–51), C. Bérard (1982), I. Morris (1988), Hägg (1987) and myself (Whitley 1988; 1991: 41–2, 59–60). But little interest has been shown

in how such cults change through time, or how such changes in cult may relate to social change. Even less consideration has been given to the implications of the archaeological theory of mortuary practices on how we should interpret such cults. This is an oversight, for two reasons.

Firstly, because Classical archaeology's often wilful lack of interest in theory cuts the discipline off from wider debates within the humanities and social sciences, debates to which Classical archaeology could make a genuine contribution. Secondly, because 'anthropological' theories concerned with mortuary practices do have a very real bearing on both tomb and hero cult. But the relevance of such theory is not of an immediate or obvious kind. 'Processual' mortuary theory in general, and the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis in particular, need considerable refinement before their usefulness can be appreciated. This is not simply because of the notorious 'resistance to theory' amongst many (if not all) Classical archaeologists. Rather the need for refinement, or modification, arises from more recent debates that have come to the fore within both history and anthropology, debates which require us to look at 'processual' mortuary theory afresh. Historians (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), anthropologists (Bloch 1977; Appadurai 1981) and prehistorians (Bradley 1987; 1993: 113–29; Lane 1986) have of late taken renewed interest in the ideological uses of the past, a past of invented traditions, fictive genealogies and misinterpreted monuments. Furthermore, 'anthropological' theory has to take account of the variety and ambiguity of Greek tomb and hero cult – two kinds of cult which refer to both the recent and the distant past and which in many cases overlap. Problems of definition have to be addressed, not merely in classifying various kinds of cult but in deciding exactly what the Greeks meant by that elusive term 'hero'. Many Classical archaeologists however may still be unfamiliar with 'processual mortuary theory' (if indeed they do not simply have a principled aversion to the term). It is to such theoretical questions that we must first turn.

THE SAXE/GOLDSTEIN HYPOTHESIS AND THE ROLE OF MORTUARY THEORY

The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis is one of the more durable and most useful ideas generated by American processual archaeology. It represents a modification, by Lynne Goldstein, of Saxe's eighth hypothesis presented in his pioneering study *Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. The hypothesis, presented as a 'law-like generalisation', states:

> To the degree that corporate groups' rights to use and/or control crucial but restricted resources are attained and/or legitimised by means of lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to ancestors) such groups will maintain formal, bounded disposal areas for the exclusive disposal of the dead, and conversely. (Saxe 1970: 119).

By 'formal, bounded disposal areas' Saxe meant a defined cemetery area, or a collective tomb. Saxe's eighth hypothesis has been widely invoked in the study of megalithic tombs in northern and western Europe, as it seemed to confirm the idea that segmentary lineage groups were responsible for their construction (Chapman 1981). Goldstein, in classical processual fashion, put Saxe's hypothesis to the test of ethnographic reality. She found that 'the hypothesis did not work in both directions: not all corporate groups that control crucial and restricted resources through lineal descent will maintain formal, bounded disposal areas exclusively for their dead' (Goldstein 1981: 60–1). She went on to add:

> The major problem found in the application of hypothesis 8 was the unintentional implication that cultures will ritualise a particular aspect of their social organisation in the same form. Considering the wide range of variability in cultures, there is a low probability that certain groups, even when in similar economic and environmental conditions, will symbolise and ritualise aspects of their organisation in precisely the same way.
>
> (*ibid.*: 61)

In the course of her critique, the hypothesis was gradually becoming less law-like, less of a predictive model. Goldstein suggested that it be re-formulated as 'three separate but related sub-hypotheses', expressed in probabilistic rather than predictive terms. These are:

> A. To the degree that corporate group rights to use and/or control crucial but restricted resources are attained and/or legitimised by lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to ancestors), such groups will, by the popular religion and its ritualisation, regularly re-affirm the lineal corporate group and its rights. *One* means of ritualisation is the maintenance of a permanent, specialised, bounded disposal area for the exclusive disposal of their dead.
>
> B. If a permanent, specialised, bounded area for the exclusive disposal of the group's dead exists, then it is likely that this represents a corporate group that has rights over the use and/or control of crucial but restricted resources. This corporate control is most likely to be attained and/or legitimised by means of lineal descent from the dead, either in terms of an actual lineage or in the form of a strong, established tradition of the critical resource passing from parent to offspring.
>
> C. The more structured and formal the disposal area, the fewer alternative explanations of social organisation apply, and conversely.
>
> (Goldstein 1981: 61)

However refined, the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis fell out of favour during the 1980s. It was treated as yet another, misleadingly law-like generalisation, another unfortunate legacy from 'New Archaeology'. As Ian Morris has recently argued, this was a case of throwing the theoretical baby out with the 'nomothetic', supposedly processual, bathwater (I. Morris 1991). Morris suggests that this hypothesis should be used more as an interpretive, hermeneutic tool and less as a rigid, predictive law. There is certainly enough ethnographic evidence to suggest that

there is a general relationship here worth exploring. Control over crucial resources (such as land) and the legitimation of that control; funerals and funerary ceremonies as occasions when power relations (and lineages and inheritances) are re-negotiated; and the ideological uses of the veneration of ancestors: all these phenomena do indeed seem to be connected, though not in a manner that leads to easy, law-like generalisations. In some instances, funerals themselves become the central, 'legitimising' occasions; in others, the role of confirming titles to land and other forms of inheritance is taken over by ancestor worship.

Archaeologists have recently recognised the importance of distinguishing between funerary rituals, the actual rites of mourning and burial, and ancestor rituals, the residues of ceremonies which may have taken place at the site of the 'ancestral tomb' (Barrett *et al.* 1991: 122–4). Ancestors, however, need not be venerated in the places where they are buried. In Taiwan for example (and possibly also in mainland China), shrines for ancestors are usually located at some distance from a family's cemetery or tomb (I. Morris 1991: 152–4).

Modified in this manner, it is perhaps easier to see how the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis might shed some light on the Archaic Greek evidence. Some time ago, Anthony Snodgrass (1980: 37–40; 1982) suggested that the offerings found in Mycenaean tombs in the late Geometric period could be attributed to colonising peasant agriculturalists, who needed to create some title to land they had recently moved into and intended to farm. Offerings were a means not merely of propitiating the previous owners, represented by the Mycenaean funerary architecture, but of enlisting them as protectors or guardians. Here title to 'crucial but limited resources' (land) is being established by offerings in older 'formal, bounded disposal areas' (tombs). There are, of course, difficulties with this interpretation (Whitley 1988; Antonaccio 1993), and I do not mean to suggest that there is a direct analogy between Chinese ancestor cults and Greek tomb cults of this type (see below). The parallel is none the less one surely worth exploring: to what extent can ancestral tombs, or tombs of previous inhabitants, be used to bolster claims to resources, particularly land? And furthermore, how general is this phenomenon?

This would bring us on to the question of the ideological uses of the past. But such a question cannot be entered into until we have considered the relevance, and the utility, of 'processual' mortuary theory more generally. As with the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, the kinds of theories originally advanced by Binford (1972) and Saxe (1970) are less and less frequently used in the archaeological interpretation of funerary remains, mainly as a result of post-processual critiques. Many of these criticisms do have genuine force. Binford's reliance upon role theory did lead him to give the impression that the role an individual played in life will automatically and universally be recognised in the manner in which that

individual is buried, so that cemeteries become the mirrors, or fossil records, of past social organisations. That this ignores ideology, religious beliefs and sectional interests, which more often than not have a 'distorting' effect, is something that has been frequently pointed out (Parker-Pearson 1982; Whitley 1991: 23–34). Cemeteries can be very misleading guides to social structure. Moreover, considerable procedural difficulties have been encountered when trying to reduce the enormous quantity of information from cemeteries to an abstract code. Wealth scores are rarely sufficient in themselves (Orton and Hodson 1981) and any gain in statistical precision is outweighed by a loss of contextual detail. But here again, a suggestive and potentially fruitful idea – that there is some general relationship between a society's mortuary practices and that society's social order – is being summarily dismissed, because of its unwelcome 'processual' overtones.

Perhaps a more profitable approach would be to consider the different *kinds* of mortuary symbolism afresh. What kind of symbolic statement is actually being made in the funeral ceremony was not a question directly addressed by the 'processual' school. Edmund Leach (1976: 9–16) has made a number of useful distinctions in the way symbolic statements are made. We may divide these statements into three types:

(1) Metonymic: this is where the items interred with the deceased, or the general manner of interment, do indeed reflect roles played by the individual in life (or a selection of those roles chosen and approved of by the mourners – *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*). The interment of weapons with young men is an obvious example of this kind of 'metonymic' statement, where the role of the young man as warrior is being expressed by his sword which is a material attribute of warfare. The dictionary definition of a metonym covers such examples as the 'Crown' standing in for the 'Government of the Realm' and swords in graves would seem to come into this category. It must be emphasised, however, that metonymy is a *means* of symbolisation, the subject of which may be the social roles accorded an individual in life (and the object of which may be some kind of legitimation of power or authority). None the less this re-definition allows for the sensible use of role theory.

(2) Metaphoric: this is where items interred, or other aspects of material funerary symbolism, are intended to make more general statements, either about the individual interred or the meaning of death within that society. Thus they need have no direct bearing on the role that individual played in life. Metaphors are less easily definable, 'poetic' statements and can cover anything where like is being compared to unlike. The practice of placing pomegranate seeds in graves in Greece of all periods, and the practice of covering corpses with 'red ochre' to be seen in the Ukraine in the Bronze Age (Coles and Harding 1979: 125), are obvious examples of metaphoric statements. We can begin to approach the meaning of such statements by

considering the objective properties of ochre or pomegranate seeds – what they may be metaphors *for*.

Obviously, these two kinds of statement can overlap. A female 'warrior grave' (and such indeed may be found in Bronze Age Greece) is unlikely to simply be a reflection of that woman's role in life. More probably, weapons are being used as metaphors for a kind of power or authority based on physical force and prowess in battle. Whereas a sword in an adult male grave may well be a metonym for the deceased social role (which may also serve to confirm this role), a sword in a female grave is a metaphor for high social status (though this may also serve to confirm her, or her family's, status). Much the same can be said of 'warrior graves' of male children or young adolescents. Here weapons have become metaphors for a certain kind of power and authority, divorced from the reality of actual social roles. As Härke has argued, Anglo-Saxon warrior graves seem to be indirect, metaphoric statements about authority rather than direct reflections of roles played in life (Härke 1990). Such metaphors however depend in part on certain metonyms, on certain 'obvious' associations between role and symbol. So, despite much recent (and justified) criticism of a rather literal-minded reading of the symbolism involved in the deposition of grave goods (J. Thomas 1991), we still need to look for metonyms first and metaphors second if we are to have any chance of deciphering such symbolism.

This leaves us with our third type of symbolic statement:

(3) Political or ideological: this is where the funeral, or ancestors, are used as a means of confirming, questioning or legitimising the existing power relations. Ideology here is conceived in the Marxist sense, as that collection of ideas and practices which represent a certain, dominant sectional interest. Much was made in the 1980s of mortuary practices as being primarily concerned with power and ideology (Tilley 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1982; 1987: 137–71). But it must be remembered that 'legitimisation of the social order' is the object of symbolisation, not its subject (which may be a social role) nor its means (which may take the form of metonymic or metaphoric statements). There can be no such thing as a purely ideological or political statement. The politics of the past, and of the heroes or the ancestors, depend crucially on the widespread acceptance of certain metaphors or metonyms in the culture in question. Power derives in part from rhetorical or poetic persuasiveness – as much in material culture as in speech. One of the weaknesses of a wholesale 'political' reading of mortuary patterning, seeing it just as a distorted representation of an idealised social order, is that it neglects to analyze the particular, culturally specific, symbolic rhetoric upon which ideology depends.

Distinctions of this kind would, I suggest, help us better to understand certain kinds of Greek funerary practice and funerary cult. To take one example: the Marathon tumulus, a monument where burial practice,

tomb cult and hero cult all intersect, is unintelligible without appreciating certain key metaphors concerning epic heroism and prowess and the proper manner of burying a 'hero' (see below and Whitley 1994). But equally the Greek evidence has to be placed in a wider setting, an area of concern that has much exercised both historians and anthropologists of late, namely the uses of the past in the present.

'THE PAST IS A SCARCE RESOURCE': THE APPROPRIATION OF THE PAST AND THE LEGITIMISATION OF THE PRESENT

For some time now a rather low-key debate has been running between anthropologists concerning the ways in which the past is made use of in the present (Bloch 1977; Appadurai 1981), a debate which clearly intersects with work by historians on the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). These ideas have been taken up by some prehistorians (Lane 1986; Barrett *et al.* 1991; Bradley 1987; 1993) who are also interested in how the past may have been used to legitimate the present. It would perhaps be misleading to summarise the main points of this debate, since it would give the impression that there is a consensus on the subject (which there is not). None the less there are several general points that require emphasis.

(1) Firstly, many (but not all) human communities need a past, a past which can take many forms. It could become associated with ancestral practices and the idea (if not the reality) that things have always been done in *this*, and no other, way; or it could be founded on the authority of a text, or an oral tradition; or it could be focused upon a monument. Many human communities need to have a sense of continuity with their past, a need which often, if not invariably, has a role in legitimating a state of affairs in the present. Sometimes this continuity is actively *created*. Where a tradition does not exist, it has often to be invented. Yet it is surely a point of general interest that the fiction as much as the fact of continuity is so widely held to be desirable.

(2) At certain times and places, monuments which had fallen into disuse again become the foci of some kind of human activity. Sometimes such monuments become the locus for some kind of cult. In Greece the re-use of Mycenaean tombs in the Archaic period is the best-known instance of this (Coldstream 1976). However something similar seems to have happened in both Britain and Ireland at a much later date. In Roman times there appears to have been renewed activity at prehistoric ritual monuments, most of which would have fallen out of use at least a thousand years before (Dark 1993).[2] In Ireland, a rich, apparently votive deposit of similar date has been found at the megalithic tomb of Newgrange (Carson and O'Kelly 1977; Bradley 1987: 10–14; 1993: 119–21). At other times, older monuments are deliberately re-incorporated in later structures. So the construction of Archaic temples over the Bronze Age palaces at Tiryns

and Mycenae (Nilsson 1950, 473–84) may be likened to the re-modelling of prehistoric ritual monuments in the Anglo-Saxon Royal site at Yeavering (Bradley 1987: 5–10; 1993: 117–19; Hope-Taylor 1977). In all these cases, there is a considerable gap in time between these primary and secondary uses, such that no idea of 'continuity' can seriously be entertained. Bradley has argued that the re-use of Newgrange as a cult site is connected with dynastic struggles in pre-Christian Ireland. Similarly, Ian Morris (1988) has suggested that the re-use of Mycenaean tombs is an indirect product of the emergence of states. Such cults are 'crisis cults', a response to rapid and confusing social change. But such ideas, interesting as they are, do not constitute a theory. They are, as yet, just suggestions. We still lack a general theory that would help us to explain why certain societies, or groups within those societies, sometimes pick on monuments to legitimise their authority. Why do many societies make use of the past but only *some* of ancient monuments? Why is it that the need for legitimation seems to be felt more strongly at certain times rather than others?

(3) 'The past is a scarce resource' is the title of an article by Appadurai (1981), who makes the important point that the past is not infinitely malleable. Pasts cannot be endlessly invented, or continually 'touched up', just to suit present interests. Indeed one of the reasons for using the past as a 'tool for legitimation' is that it is, to a degree, resistant to such manipulation. Were it not so, the past would lose all authority. What often occurs is a contest over the interpretation of a preferred past. As Appadurai puts it:

> In the south Indian temple, the past is an extremely important component of debate and division in the present. But it does not seem to be infinitely susceptible to contemporary invention. Indeed, there appear to be a set of norms, pertaining to authority, continuity and interdependence, which govern the terms of the debate concerning the past.
>
> (*ibid.*: 217)

And he goes on to say: 'This normative framework permits an orderly symbolic negotiation between "ritual" pasts and the contingencies of the present. The terms of the negotiation are, of course, culturally variable' (*ibid.*: 218).

(4) Certain cultures seem to have had a number of alternative, often successive, pasts which compete for the allegiance of the present inhabitants. A striking modern example is the debate amongst modern Greeks as to what relative value should be placed on their 'Byzantine' or 'Romaic' *vis-à-vis* their 'Classical' past. This is a complex issue, brilliantly (if comically) encapsulated by Patrick Leigh Fermor as the 'Helleno-Romaic dilemma' (Fermor 1983: 96–147). Similar dilemmas may have afflicted other cultures. Certainly other societies had stories of a number of previous inhabitants of the territory they currently occupied, inhabitants who were

not conceived of as ancestors. The Irish *Book of Invasions* for example records how Ireland was occupied by a succession of previous races – the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danaan to name but two (Arbois de Jubainville 1903). Hesiod's *Works and Days* (lines 109–201) records at least four previous races of men who inhabited the world before Hesiod's Age of Iron. Often some of these previous inhabitants come to be associated with ancient monuments and features in the landscape. These associations need not, however, have any implications in terms of material practices. Irish megalithic tombs may have been thought of as the homes of a vanished race long before any need was felt to place votive offerings near such tombs. Certainly Newgrange continued to be associated with the Tuatha Dé Danaan long after votive offerings had ceased to be placed at the site (O'Kelly 1982: 43–8; D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903: 152–5).[3] Studies of folklore in Britain and Ireland would tend to support the idea that stories can be woven about ancient monuments without those monuments becoming the focus for ritual activity, or without their coming to have a clear role in 'legitimising' the present social order.

If there is to be an anthropological 'theory of the past', a theory that can accommodate all these varied interests and ideas, it is still in its early stages of development. Such a theory would have to address a number of, as yet, unanswered questions. Why do monuments become 're-activated' at certain periods in history or prehistory? Do such periods have something in common? If there are a number of competing pasts, why do some come to be preferred as objects for debate in the present? If the need for legitimation is a constant, why is it that the re-use of monuments, and the incorporation of ancient monuments in the material practices of the present, is so clearly a variable? How much is actually explained by the term 'legitimation'? These and similar questions are clearly relevant when we come to consider tomb and hero cult. But, before discussing the archaeological evidence for such cults, we have yet to consider that elusive term: hero.

HEROES, ANCESTORS AND THE HEROIC AGE

Our ancient literary and epigraphic sources give us a very hazy picture of what Greeks of the Archaic period meant by the term *heros*. This is not because of lack of evidence but because the evidence conflicts. Consequently, arriving at a definition of 'hero' and of 'hero cult' has become a notorious conundrum in Classical studies (Kearns 1989: 1–9). Scholars are agreed only that, for Greeks, heroes were more than men but less than gods, and that they were usually associated with particular localities and sometimes with tombs. Every attempt to define the term 'hero' more precisely meets with apparently insuperable difficulties. Some scholars have suggested that Greek 'heroes' were of essentially two kinds. Rohde (1972:

114–55), Nagy (1979: 114–17, 151–73) and West (1978: 370–3) see an absolute division between heroes of epic poetry (including Herakles), who are generally not objects of cult, and more shadowy, semi-divine, chthonic beings, associated with particular localities. This distinction between heroes of epic and heroes of cult has certainly found favour with some archaeologists (Snodgrass 1987: 160–4; 1988). I would argue that, instead of two types of hero, there was, by the Classical period at least, a continuum of variation between two extremes in what the Greeks called 'hero': at one extreme, we have the Panhellenic, mortal, human figures whose *arete*, whose heroic prowess or virtue, is celebrated in the Homeric poems; and at the other, anonymous figures, associated with a particular place. So, instead of trying to define the essential Greek hero, I want to emphasise the range of variation in what Greeks meant when they used the term. I would divide heroes into four categories (which sometimes, of course, overlap):

(1) Major heroes of epic poetry (the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the epic cycle generally), or whose deeds were widely celebrated in other stories told throughout Greece (Herakles thus comes into this category). These heroes are of 'Panhellenic' significance and are often associated not with one locality but with many.

(2) Lesser named heroes, who, at best, have only a minor role in epic. Such heroes are usually associated with one locality only. If indeed there is a hero shrine of Phrontis, there is none outside Sounion (Abramson 1979) and there is no other shrine to Akademos other than the Academy itself.

(3) Real, historical individuals who were heroised after their death and, being heroised, became the focus of hero cult. The Spartan general Brasidas for example was heroised by the inhabitants of Amphipolis (Thucydides *Historiae* 5.11), as were the Athenian tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, after the establishment of the Cleisthenic democracy (Kearns 1989: 55, 150). These heroes tended to be associated with particular cities or communities and with particular localities. None had a Panhellenic following.

(4) Anonymous figures, not named, associated with particular places and often identified as being 'the hero of the saltmarsh' (Kearns 1989: 144) or 'the heroes of the plain' (*ibid.*: 193). Such anonymous heroes had only a very local significance.

Our early literary evidence for hero cults is much less straightforward than many believe. Hero cult of some kind may have been alluded to in the *Iliad*, as Hadzisteliou-Price (1973) has argued. I do not agree with van Wees (1992: 5–10, 314–15) however that the famous passage in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (lines 109–201) describing the five races of humankind (Golden, Silver, Bronze, 'Heroes' and his own, most miserable race of Iron) can be used as evidence that heroes were only of one type. To be sure, the word 'hero' is used only of the fourth race, the Race of Heroes

(lines 159, 172), who would correspond to heroes of epic in my classification. But these heroes are not recipients of cult, nor are they associated with a particular locality. Rather, they live 'by Ocean Stream' (line 171), apart from the rest of humankind. This contrasts with the description of both the Gold and Silver races: the Gold are now *epichthonioi* (line 122), residing in the land, and hold *basileion geras* (line 126), dues owed to them as kings or lords; the Silver Race are *hypochthonioi* (line 141), living under the ground and are also entitled to *time* (line 142), that is appropriate honours. The use of the terms *time* (honour, in a material sense) and *geras* (that which is due, an entitlement) might well be thought to imply that both the Gold and Silver races received cult. The offerings in Mycenaean tombs that begin in the eighth century BC may, more logically, be associated with the Silver Race than with Hesiod's fourth race, the Race of Heroes (see below; West 1978: 186).

Are heroes ancestors? The answer is both yes and no. There were in Classical Attica a number of pseudo-kinship groupings called *gene* which had eponymous hero-ancestors (Kearns 1989: 64–79). The idea (if not the reality) of common ancestry and common blood ties was obviously important to the proper functioning of these groups. But such eponymous heroes were only a small subset of the class of minor, named heroes. There are only twenty-six *gene* with eponymous ancestor-heroes and over 129 named minor heroes who received some kind of cult known in Classical Attica. Pindar, too, often tries to link his athletic victors to figures from the heroic age – often heroes from the same locality (Pindar *Nemean* 11; *Olympian* 6). But Pindar never constructs genealogies (R. Thomas 1989: 106–7) and it is an open question whether local heroes are being claimed as ancestors by aristocratic families or whether eponymous ancestors were later heroised. Both processes may have been in operation. Clearly then, some heroes could be ancestors, but not all ancestors were heroes and not all heroes ancestors.

HERO CULTS: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

What, in archaeological terms, has been termed 'hero cult' is a phenomenon as diverse as the concept of hero itself. But hero cults, like heroes, can be grouped into four categories, which are not always mutually exclusive:

(1) Cults to named heroes from epic. These were widespread in Greece in the Classical period, when a hero like Menelaus was venerated in both Athens and Sparta (Wace *et al.* 1909; Catling 1977; Kearns 1989: 185) and when Herakles was worshipped almost everywhere. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence, however, suggests that these cults are a relatively late phenomenon in the Archaic period. To be sure, the earliest material from such shrines as the so-called Menelaion at Therapne near Sparta

(Wace *et al.* 1909; Catling 1977), the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae (Cook 1953a; 1953b) and the Polis Cave at Ithaca (a shrine of Odysseus; Benton 1935) dates to the late eighth or early seventh centuries BC. But there is also evidence to indicate that such shrines were originally shrines of female deities (including Helen) and only later came to be associated with the male, heroic protagonists of epic (de Polignac 1984: 130–1; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991: 88–90; Antonaccio 1993: 54–5). Certainly, the earliest inscriptions from the Polis Cave and from the 'Menelaion' are dedications to Athena and Helen respectively, whereas the earliest dedicatory inscription to Menelaus alone dates to ca. 500 BC (Jeffery 1990: 230–1, 234; Benton 1935: 54–5; Catling 1977: 36–7; Catling and Cavanagh 1976).[4] Moreover, almost all of the cults to Herakles in Attica can be dated no earlier than the very end of the sixth century BC (Woodford 1971).[5] Epic heroes, it seems, became prominent as objects of cult only in the late Archaic period.

(2) Cults to minor, named heroes. In Attica at least, direct epigraphic testimony for minor local figures such as Akademos is very late (Alexandri 1968) – no earlier than the end of the sixth century. It could of course be argued that cults to either Akademos or Phrontis (Abramson 1979) begin much earlier but the evidence is ambiguous in both cases.

(3) Cults to the recently dead and posthumously heroised: there is an argument that such cults are already known in the Dark Ages. Hadzisteliou-Price (1973) has suggested that cults to heroised ancestors were a part of the Homeric universe of thought and action. The large, tenth-century building at Lefkandi, Toumba (the so-called *heröon*; Popham *et al.* 1982; 1993; Calligas 1988), an eighth-century shrine in the cemetery of Antissa on Lesbos (Spencer forthcoming,b) and a ninth- to eighth-century grave-shrine at the Mitropolis plot on Naxos (Lambrinodakis 1988) have been claimed to be cults of this type. In these cases ancestors seem to have been venerated and may have been heroised. Certainly it is difficult to think of an alternative interpretation for the early seventh-century triangular shrine at Eretria to the one suggested by its excavator (C. Bérard 1970: 1982), namely that it is a shrine dedicated to the veneration of an aristocratic warrior, whose prowess in the war against Chalkis led him (and others) to be heroised after death. This kind of hero cult does seem to go back to the beginning of the Archaic period.

(4) Cults established in or over Bronze Age tombs: these were the most common type of 'hero cult' in the earlier Archaic period (Coldstream 1976), between ca. 750 to 650 BC. Nowhere is there anything to suggest that any of the figures venerated in these tombs were named. Despite the wealth of votive offerings found in the *dromos* of the Menidhi tholos tomb (fig. 4.1), there is not one dedicatory inscription, though the offerings continue to about 460 BC (Wolters 1899). At Mycenae, many Geometric and Archaic offerings have been found in all

Figure 4.1 *Dromos* and entrance of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Menidhi. *Source* The author

kinds of Bronze Age tombs there. But we possess only one dedicatory inscription – from above Shaft Grave Circle A – to an unnamed hero (Jeffery 1990: 174 no. 6, pl. 31) (figs 4.2–4.3). Considering the number of potential epic heroes with whom any one of these tombs could be associated, this is, to say the least, unusual. It suggests that the recipients

of these cults were not named but were thought of as generic heroes – associated with a particular place but not given a particular name. It is this fourth category of 'hero cult' that has received most attention. In her most recent work, Carla Antonaccio (1993) has argued that such cults, though distantly related to 'hero cults' in the strict sense, are not cults to heroes at all. Rather they are tomb cults. She points out that no named hero and few if any anonymous ones are actually associated with an ancient, archaeologically attested, Bronze Age tomb. Where there is an association between hero and tomb, as in the case of Pelops at Olympia, it appears that the 'tomb' is invented, if not indeed constructed, some time in the Archaic period.[6] Anthony Snodgrass (1980: 37–40; 1982) on the other hand has argued that cults in this category served to mark land claims made by colonising peasant agriculturalists. Tomb cults are thus linked to territoriality, in much the same way as megalithic tombs have been linked to territory in western Europe (Renfrew 1976).

There are great difficulties however in seeing colonising peasants as being responsible for instituting many of these cults, at least in Attica and the Argolid (Whitley 1988). I have argued that in the Argolid such cults represent corporate group claims to territory, claims made on the part of the *polis*, whereas in Attica they represent the claims of aristocratic kin-groups to local autochthony. However, even if this interpretation is correct, it is still not entirely clear how eighth- and early seventh-century Greeks conceived of the beings whom they came to associate with Bronze Age tombs and what kind of relationship is being established.[7] Did the institutors of these cults imagine that they had come across the tombs of their ancestors? The answer, I think, must be 'no'. Such cults do not resemble any later cults of eponymous hero ancestors (Kearns 1989:

Figure 4.2 Inscribed sherd from above Grave Circle A at Mycenae, with an inscription 'I am of the hero'. *Source* Jeffery 1990, pl. 31.6 (redrawn by Howard Mason)

Figure 4.3 Grave Circle A at Mycenae after excavation. *Source* Schliemann 1880, p1. VII

65–72, 78–9). It is not even clear that such cults should be associated with heroes at all. Apart from the Mycenae inscription (see above; Jeffery 1990: 174 no. 6, pl. 31) there are no material grounds for equating tomb cults with cults to anonymous heroes. None of the 'anonymous heroes' listed by Kearns (1989) is clearly associated with a tomb. Nor are the so-called 'hero-shrines' of Classical date in the Athenian Agora (which may have been associated with Bronze Age or Iron Age tombs) identified with any hero, named or anonymous (Lalonde 1968; 1980). Another interpretation is needed.

I would suggest that the impressive Mycenaean funerary architecture came to be associated with previous races of men, previous inhabitants, perhaps the Silver Race of Hesiod, who dwelt underground (*hypochthonioi*) and were entitled to their *time*, that is to the 'respect' that cult offerings represent. Certainly the *dromoi* of Mycenaean tombs, since they lead directly underground, could easily have come to be associated with chthonic *numina*.[8] In making these offerings, Greeks of the Archaic period were trying to enlist them as protectors, as well as marking out land to which their community was laying claim. In later times, such races may have been considered as generic 'heroes', as the inscription from Mycenae shows, but they were still treated very differently from the heroes of epic poetry. Clearly too, Greeks of this time were making use of the remains of their Bronze Age past in other ways. The Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraeum may be an example of a deliberate attempt to imitate Bronze Age architecture (Wright 1982; but see also Antonaccio 1992). But it may not be the case that eighth-century Greeks conceived of these (to them) marvellous constructions as being of Hesiod's Bronze or heroic ages. There is in our literary sources very little to justify the frequent archaeological confusion between the remains of the Bronze Age uncovered by archaeologists and the Greeks' own conception of an age of heroes (see Whitley 1993: 225–7), and it may be more likely that 'Cyclopean' constructions were attributed to the Gold and Silver races, who were so very much more powerful than the peoples who came after.

What distinguishes these offerings in Bronze Age tombs from the kind of ritual practices associated with megalithic tombs in western Europe is that, in the Greek case, a relationship to a past has to be *established*. There is a gap between past and present that has to be bridged. For Greeks of the Archaic period, the past is not the, perhaps more natural, genetic relationship one has with one's ancestors. Ancestors go back in a continuous series from one generation to another, back to an originary or founding moment. The Greek past was discontinuous: heroes, and previous races of men, had to be re-created several times by Zeus; and thus there were various pasts competing for the attention and allegiance of the current inhabitants. This goes against the underlying assumption

of the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, namely that tombs always represent ancestors, or an ancestral past. So, although these 'hero cults' are connected with group rights, this is not a phenomenon that was either predicted by or can be accommodated within the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis. This does not mean that the hypothesis should be simply abandoned. Rather such ideas should be incorporated into a more general theory of how human groups make use of the past to make ideological and material claims (see above).

Hero cult *sensu stricto* seems to have been less important in Archaic Greece. Cults to other kinds of hero are certainly less prominent in the archaeological record. But epic heroes were widely known about throughout mainland Greece from about 700 BC onwards, and epic poetry did have a genuine impact on the material representations of seventh-century Greece. By this I do not simply mean that scenes from epic come to be represented in art. Epic also had an effect on burial practices. In Attica for example, there are several significant changes that take place in the seventh century, changes which are most noticeable in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (Kübler 1959; I. Morris 1987: 85–6, 128–31). Cremation replaces inhumation as the preferred rite for adults (probably mostly males);[9] adult graves come to be marked by tumuli crowned by stone or ceramic grave markers; and 'offering trenches' are introduced. Such practices recall the descriptions of the funerals of Patroklos and Hector in the *Iliad* (23.249–57; 24.790–803), and the prototype of these tumuli may be the *sema* or tomb of Ilos which is a prominent landmark in many battle scenes in that poem (*Iliad* 10.415; 11.166, 371–2; 24.349). I have argued elsewhere (Whitley 1994) that such practices are a deliberate means of likening the aristocratic heads of Athenian families to the heroes of epic; the *arete*, the martial prowess of the epic, warrior hero is being evoked in order to honour a small stratum of Athenian society. Particular burial practices are being used as metaphors for heroic courage and prowess and so as suitable means of honouring the dead. Such practices fell out of favour during the sixth century but they were revived in a spectacular fashion in the early fifth. The tomb of the Athenian dead at Marathon has all the features of these seventh-century aristocratic tombs: a large tumulus, cremations for the war dead and an exterior offering tray (Stais 1893), and I have argued that this was a way of likening the warriors who died defending the new democracy with the warrior heroes of epic. In so doing, the idea of heroic prowess, which had previously been used to celebrate the innate virtues of the aristocracy, was enlisted in the service of the new democracy. The virtues of collective *arete* were emphasised at the expense of individual heroic prowess. The tumulus at Marathon depends for its effectiveness on previous mortuary forms and widespread ideals of heroic virtue, just as it marks a profound break in the political and cultural development of Athens.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion I would like to stress three points:

Firstly, hero cult is a diverse phenomenon. We cannot simply translate what we know of hero cult in the Classical period on to the very different circumstances of Early Archaic Greece. It is, to my mind, highly likely that the cults in Mycenaean tombs that begin in the eighth century BC were not conceived of originally as cults to heroes but cults to a previous race of men, perhaps Hesiod's Silver Race. In time these races may have come to be thought of as heroes, but generic, anonymous heroes, attached to particular localities, who were always treated very differently from the heroes of epic poetry. If this interpretation is correct, we have to reconsider the significance of the revival of cults in Mycenaean tombs that occurred from the late fourth century onwards (Alcock 1991).

Secondly, even though the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis has been found wanting it has still shown itself to be a useful point of departure in the archaeological study of hero cult. The deficiencies of the hypothesis illustrate the need for a more general, archaeological and anthropological theory of the *uses of the past*. Perhaps it would be useful to make a distinction between those pasts where genetic continuity between past and present is a reality (such as a cult of ancestors who can be linked to the present by the recital of a genealogy or through a community's participation in recurrent ritual at a collective, family tomb or an ancestral shrine) and those instances where continuity has to be actively created by the re-appropriation and re-use of 'ancient monuments'.[10] The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis is clearly more relevant to the former than to the latter.

Lastly, archaeologists interested in mortuary practices and the 'uses of the past' will have to become more sensitive to metaphor and less eager to interpret their evidence purely in terms of the negotiation of power relations. Thus, in our example, even though epic heroes were not widely venerated before 500 BC, the *idea* of the epic hero did have a significant effect on mortuary practices in the Archaic period. The funerary complexes with central cremation, grave mound, marker and offering trench that become common in seventh-century Attica do seem to be deliberate evocations of the burials of Homeric heroes. Such features were used as metaphors where the qualities of the person(s) buried could be likened to the heroic virtues of Homer's heroes. But such metaphors could be invoked to serve very different political ends. In the seventh century it is likely that only male members of the Athenian aristocracy were so honoured: the analogy or metaphor thus served to reinforce the values of the Archaic aristocracy. In the Marathon tumulus, however, such ideas were given a different twist: the warriors who died defending the new democracy were honoured as Homeric heroes. Heroic values were being 'transvalued' to serve the needs of the new social and political

order.The tomb at Marathon was thus a profoundly political monument. The *Marathonomachai* buried within it later came to represent all the virtues of the Athenian democracy. But we cannot understand the effectiveness of its political rhetoric until we have understood the metaphors of epic heroism upon which it depends. We have to understand the poetics of mortuary practices before we can understand their politics.

NOTES

1 This is a revised, and very much expanded, version of a paper given in the 'Classical Archaeology' section of the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) Conference at Southampton in December 1992, though some of its ideas have been aired in a seminar at the British School at Athens in 1988. I would like to thank H. van Wees, Joshua Pollard, Ian Morris, Nigel Spencer and Douglass Bailey for comments on earlier versions of this paper and Richard Bradley for encouraging me to publish it. Any remaining mistakes are of course my own.

2 Dark (1993) suggests that this later activity may be due to 'superstition' rather than 'religion'. I doubt very much whether such a distinction has any validity at all either in prehistory or in the Classical world. The comparative approach I have adopted here would tend to suggest other possible reasons for this re-use of prehistoric monuments. Dark does not provide a full catalogue of sites, nor does he list the full range of later activity, nor does he provide detailed descriptions of the Roman finds associated with such 're-used' monuments. This is a topic that may well repay further study.

3 O'Kelly's (1982: 45) remarks are of considerable interest. Speaking of the race whom the Irish associated with Newgrange he says: 'With regard to the Bru, or Bru na Boinne, there seem to be two main concepts: the Bru as the abode of the mythological or supernatural beings known as the Tuatha Dé Danaan and the Bru as the burial place of the pagan kings of Tara. The word Bru means "abode, hall, mansion or castle" and is used "particularly of early monumental sites". In mythological or supernatural contexts the Bru was associated with the Dagda, the Good God; his wife Boann [?]; and his son Oengus; all belonging to the Tuatha Dé Danaan, a people said to have inhabited Ireland before the coming of the Gael or Celts and who thereafter retreated into the fairy mounds and forts of Ireland. *They were not gods in the sense of deities to be revered, but were regarded as supernatural beings who could and did perform deeds beyond the power of mortals* [emphasis mine]. They were unequivocally pagan and were mainly portrayed as belonging to a remote past; nevertheless, in some unexplained way, they were able to live on from age to age so that they seemed always present and could intervene at will in the affairs of men. They were fairly strictly localized' (O'Kelly 1982: 45). The parallel between the Tuatha Dé Danaan and Hesiod's four races is, I think, an obvious one, already noted by Arbois de Jubainville (1903: 4–7) (but see note 8 below).

4 To be more precise about our evidence from the Menelaion: the earliest inscription is a dedication to Helen on a bronze aryballos, dating to 650

BC; then there is a bronze *harpax* whose inscription probably dates to some time in the sixth century BC, dedicated to Helen; and finally there is a stone inscription dedicated to Menelaus, dated to around 500 BC (Catling and Cavanagh 1976; Catling 1977: 36–7 figs 25–8).

5 There is some evidence that Herakles was venerated in Attica as early as the seventh century BC. This comes from the sanctuary on Mount Hymettos, where there are two dedicatory inscriptions (Langdon 1976: 15 h 41). Furthermore there is literary evidence for cults to minor epic heroes before 500 BC. If we accept the veracity of Herodotus' story of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, there must have been a well-established cult of Adrastus in Sicyon by c. 600 BC (Herodotus *Historiae* 5.67–8). My point is not that such cults were unknown but that they were considerably less prominent than in the Classical period.

6 Antonaccio has also stressed that there is more evidence for the re-use of Bronze Age tombs as places of burial than has previously been acknowledged (Antonaccio 1993, 49–50). In this she follows G. Korres' detailed analysis of the later uses of Messenian Mycenaean tombs for subsequent burials (which date from the late Classical to the early Christian eras, see Korres 1982: 422–6; see also Coulson 1988). Thus tomb cult was not a new phenomenon in the eighth century. As she puts it: 'Though tomb cult peaked in the later eighth century, it did not spring up de novo at that time, nor did it end with the establishment of the *polis*' (Antonaccio 1993: 65).

7 It is perhaps worth repeating here the reasons why several scholars (Snodgrass 1982; Whitley 1988; Antonaccio 1993) do not believe the circulation of epic poetry could have been responsible for the appearance of offerings in Mycenaean tombs in the eighth century BC, as originally suggested by Coldstream (1976). Firstly, it is not clear how Mycenaean tombs would come to be associated with epic heroes, since Homeric burial practices in no sense resemble Mycenaean. There is therefore nothing to link Homer's heroes with Bronze Age tombs. Secondly, Homer's heroes are named individuals, whereas the recipients of the offering appear to be anonymous figures. I, of course, would prefer to link these anonymous heroes with Hesiod's Silver Race.

8 West's remarks are worth noting (commentary to line 141 of the *Works and Days*): 'The Silver men are identified with certain dead who, though respected as if in some way powerful or dangerous, do not walk the earth but are confined to the soil in which they lie. They lack personal identities: had they been identified with particular men of the legendary past, Hesiod would have had to attach them to his fourth race. There were numerous ancient graves which people treated with superstitious veneration without knowing whose they were. [Hesiod's] grave folk are anonymous, while his "epic" heroes are either simply dead and at rest or far off in the Isles of the Blest' (West 1978: 186).

9 We do not have direct evidence for this interpretation. Cremation techniques had improved between the eighth and seventh centuries BC, such that it was impossible to determine the sex of seventh-century cremations. We can say however that the gender-related mortuary symbolism of the Dark Ages (see Whitley 1991) has completely disappeared in the seventh century; there are no more rich female graves that look obviously 'female'. The arguments

in favour of such tumulus burial being for men only are then: (1) late eighth-century cremations are all male; (2) such burial practices recall 'heroic' burials in Homer. There is a danger of circularity in point 2. See S. Houby-Nielsen (1992) for the latest discussion of this evidence.

10 This is not to deny the possibility that there may be intermediate cases, which do not fall into either the categories of 'continuous use' or 'later re-appropriation'. For example it seems that when the Dorset cursus was constructed, it made deliberate references to earlier Neolithic long barrows in the vicinity, either through their incorporation in its structure or through following the same alignment as their long axis (Barrett *et al.* 1991: 47–51). Such re-use at a time that may have been within living or at least 'ancestral' memory falls into neither of the two categories mentioned above and must be considered as an 'intermediate case'.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENT-DAY CHORA ON AMORGOS AND PREHISTORIC THERMI ON LESBOS

Alternative views of communities in transition[1]

KYRIACOS LAMBRIANIDES

Abstract: The chapter examines two communities from widely different time periods on two different Aegean islands: the modern village of Chora on Amorgos and the Early Bronze Age site of Thermi on Lesbos. The studies are designed to show that the diachronic development of settlement and society in both sites should be viewed at the 'local' level where change is often the result of individual action or decision-making. This perspective is often ignored especially in the analysis of Bronze Age settlements where such change is often modelled as the result of macro-scale processes. The chapter seeks to redress this imbalance, stressing that even for prehistory the role of the individual and what one might term 'internal' factors were fundamental in social change.

INTRODUCTION

The origin and development of prehistoric settlement in the Aegean tends to be modelled in terms of large-scale processes (such as the spread of agriculture and urbanisation) and by the inevitable progress of civilisation, comprising features such as the emergence of social stratification and complexity, long-distance trade and centre–periphery relations. All too often local events become a subordinate issue in the global–local debate about rationality versus relativism, which usually privileges the macro-scale processes even when paying lip service to context.

The present study explores two Aegean sites from widely separated periods of time, present-day Chora on the Cycladic island of Amorgos and prehistoric Thermi on the east Aegean island of Lesbos, the latter a

Figure 5.1 The Aegean

site now extinct for some three thousand years (fig. 5.1). The aim of the study is to show that settlement histories, whether they concern the Bronze Age or the present day, are ultimately palimpsests of local actions and decisions – a record of each group's differing aims in the use of space and the imposition of boundaries in the landscape – rather than reflecting global processes, as the usual interpretations of the sequence at Thermi seem to assume. Yet it cannot be denied that long-distance, long-term and large-scale processes, which might sometimes be the result of decisions by an individual, can have strong effects on local conditions and an example of such processes at work is provided from Amorgos. Such individual historic events must be equally valid in prehistory when populations tended to be smaller. Unfortunately, events at the individual level cannot be detected in the latter context and therefore it is from the more complete picture of the society in Chora on Amorgos that the study begins.

CHORA, AMORGOS: A TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION

The village of Chora, administrative capital of Amorgos, is built ca. 300 m above sea-level on the slopes of a steep ridge, part of a mountain that runs like a belt across the narrow waist of the island. The village looks down both over the west coast, with its main port of Katapola, and over the sheer cliffs of the east coast where the monastery of Panayia Chozoviotissa,[2] founded nearly one thousand years ago in 1088 AD (Marangou 1988: 7), is built high up in the cliff-face looking east across the sea towards the Carian coast of Turkey ca. 100 km away.

Chora lies at the head of several valleys, some of which descend westward to the narrow coastal plain of Katapola (ca. 6 km away); other valleys lead southward through high hills to the much flatter and more fertile lower part of the island, known locally as 'Kato Meria' (the 'Lower Side'). A very useful system of partly paved mule tracks provides a network of routes through the hills and valleys, connecting Chora, Katapola and the villages of Kato Meria with each other and with their widely scattered fields.[3]

The stone-built houses of Chora are built on a series of staggered terraces, part of which are garden plots, traditionally used for cultivation and pasture. Increasingly during the last few years, new-style modern buildings, guest rooms and even hotels (usually of brick and cement) are being built on these terrace gardens, with the result that the village is expanding downward into the valley below. New houses are also being constructed along the modern asphalt motor-road (first built in the late 1960s), which comes up from Katapola and passes below the village, going to Kato Meria. The first houses have now appeared on the lower side of the asphalt, built partly for commercial objectives by some of the more explicitly ambitious Choraites.

Already this activity is partially blocking the villagers' traditional view of their fields in the valley below and creating the prospect of a road that will soon become built up on both sides. If this trend continues with the anticipated increase in tourism over the next decade, the result could be an alternative, motorised commercial main street located on what is at present the lower edge of the present village, which could shift the focus of the settlement away from the present (traditional) main street – part of a typically narrow Cycladic labyrinth, impenetrable to motor vehicles (see fig. 5.2). The new houses now rising up along the asphalt are purely functional, geared to maximising the income from new commercial opportunities. The perceived value of the terraces in and around the villages is thus changing: more can now be earned more easily from this land in the form of built-up concrete structures catering to tourism than in the form of cultivated gardens or pasture. At the same time this releases their owners to earn a further, more regular income as

labourers on other people's construction work, or working in the fields of bigger farms down in the plains (such as at Katapola). As a result, life is easier and more affluent today (in the opinion of the local people) because the long hours and drudgery on the land have been reduced and motorised transport has become available. All of these developments, therefore, are reinforcing the move away from the old lifestyle.

An important consequence of these alternative opportunities is that they are leading to a radical change in the way the village space is being used in parallel with a shift away from cultivation and a new emphasis in commercial activity within the village. The following part of the study examines the changing structure of Chora through time, emphasising firstly the changes in the layout of the settlement and secondly those related to the patterns of agriculture. As the study of prehistoric Thermi later in the chapter will underline, a community can be conceptualised as a palimpsest of different bodies of inhabitants occupying the same area through time, using its space in different ways and imposing boundaries according to their particular needs and cultural guidelines.

THE HISTORIC PALIMPSEST OF CHORA

According to Kolodny (1974: 259), the Chora and its Kastro (citadel) are characteristic features of the traditional diminutive settlements which arose on small Aegean islands during the medieval waves of migration, colonisation and settlement caused by the Venetian occupation and by the subsequent re-colonisation in the sixteenth century (fig. 5.3). In general, these settlements developed as agglutinated clusters of houses enclosing a limited space inside a citadel, presenting a common exterior wall with a single gateway, perched on high rocky outcrops as high and as far from the sea and the pirates as possible (*ibid.*: 262). In the case of Amorgos, the original single settlement cell which formed around the medieval citadel core of Chora fragmented, spreading its seeds (with the help of the monastery, which had annexes on other islands) to the even smaller neighbouring islands of Heraklia, Schinoussa, Dhonoussa and Kouphonisia, where they took root and formed separate small communities there too (*ibid.*).[4]

At the end of the eighteenth century there was another important event in the history of the settlement. It was an event which was very much the result of individual action and yet is fundamental for understanding fully the social structure of the present village. In ca. 1800 AD one man (Giorgos Yannakos) made the decision to emigrate from the Pontus to Amorgos; he chose to settle in Chora, and some two hundred years and eight generations later his clan, represented by six lines of descendants in the current settlement, provides a significant proportion of present-day Choraites who number in total some three hundred to

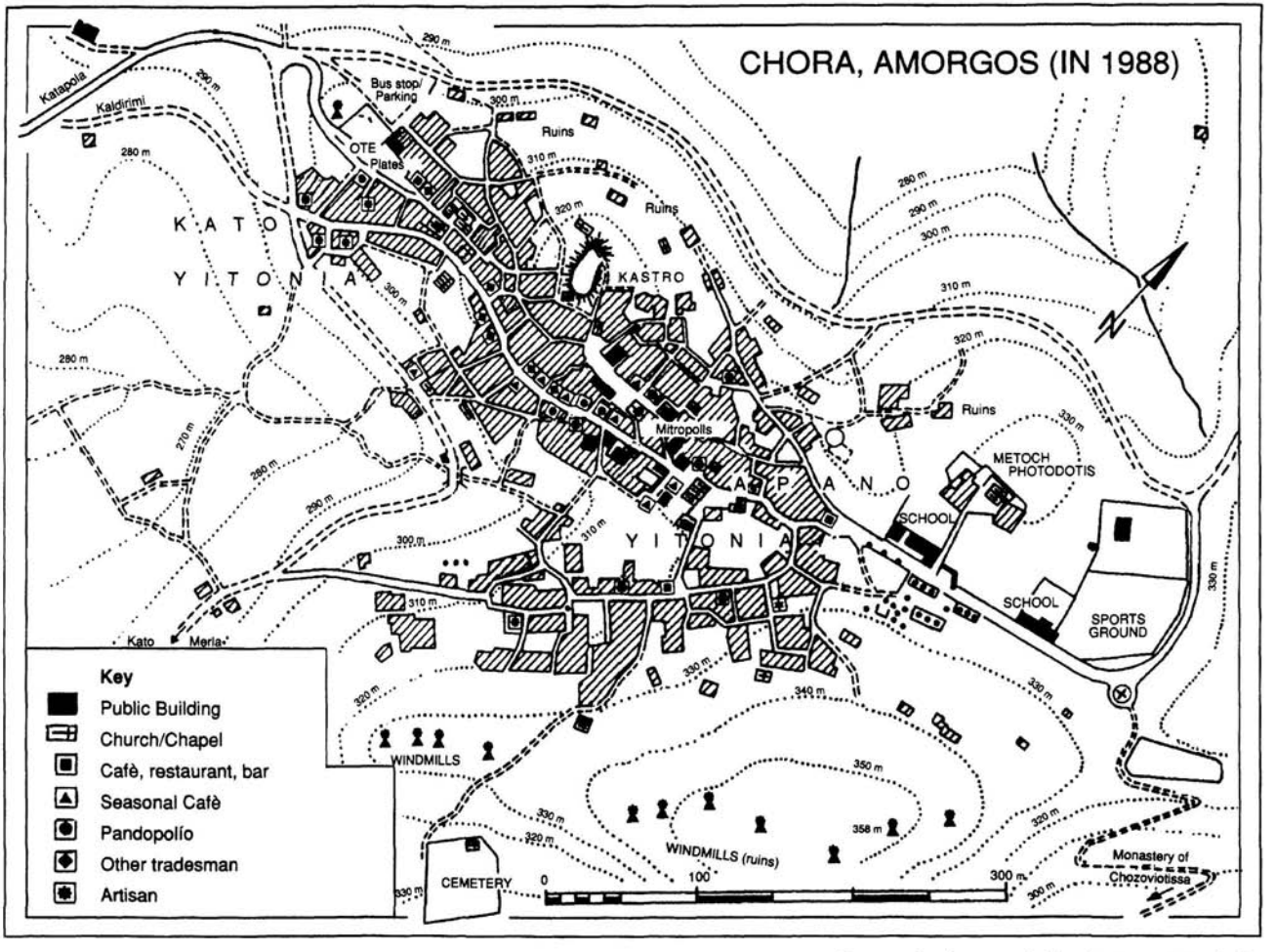


Figure 5.2 Plan of Chora, Amorgos. *Source* Reproduced by kind permission of E. Kolodny and the Université de Provence

Figure 5.3 Chora, Amorgos, from the north. Note the small but imposing Kastro which dominates the village (middleground, right), typical of those found in traditional Cycladic villages. *Source* Nigel Spencer

three hundred and fifty people (Kolodny 1992: fig 12 gives the male line of descent). Indeed, today his descendants include the only baker in Chora and Kato Meria; the main provider of freight road transport in Chora; and also one of the most influential and prolific property owners in Chora who acquires property anywhere that might be profitable.[5] Even Parva's café/bar/taverna is owned by one of the descendants of the original immigrant (*ibid.*).

The palimpsest of Chora today consists of several quarters or zones, reflecting the architectural priorities and spatial needs of different occupations in its history: Byzantine, Venetian, traditional and recent. The oldest (Byzantine and Venetian) houses are built around the citadel rock, still one of the highest zones of the village and, in general, the older neighbourhoods are found clustered together on the higher, north-western side of the village. As the map of the village indicates (fig. 5.2), the Kastro and the Metochi Photodotis, which are the highest parts of the village, are also the oldest. The Metochi is the annex of the monastery with the abbot's residence and several churches, which play a central role in the Easter processions.

There are thirty-five churches within the village (fig. 5.2) (forty-five if outlying churches are included) of different architectural style, reflecting the periods in which they were built. Like the houses of the village, most of the churches are clustered into distinguishable groups which help to define the more important spatial and chronological zones of the village. Since the total population of Chora is less than four hundred people, this means one church for, at most, every ten inhabitants. However, two main churches located in two of Chora's main squares are used for the Sunday service during most of the year.[6]

Chora has three main squares: one on the western edge of the village (the lower neighbourhood), with the bus terminal, telephone office (OTE) and Parva's welcoming café/bar/taverna. Moreover, the second most important church of the village (All Souls) is located here. The square in the centre of the village is also its administrative, religious and symbolic (ceremonial) centre but not its commercial centre nor the centre of its everyday social life. The focus of attention falls on this area on major feast days such as the Resurrection at Easter, otherwise being strangely devoid of life for much of the time. The commercial area is nearby, partly in the third open space (the main square of the Apano Yitonia or 'Upper Neighbourhood') and partly along much of the narrow and twisting main street, ca. 600 m long.

The primary and secondary schools, the sports ground and various recent OTE installations are all together on the large flat terrace at the top of the village, near the annex of the monastery and the abbot's residence.

THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE AND PASTORALISM

The important roles of agriculture and pastoralism in Amorgos are also significant in consideration of Chora's structure and emphasise once again how what one might term 'local' or 'individual' factors can alter fundamentally patterns of settlement in the town and the island as a whole. It is such factors rather than those infrequent 'macro-scale' ones (such as military intervention) which are of most import in the subtle changes one sees through time, a point which needs emphasis given the interpretation of the developments at Thermi which will be examined below.

According to Halstead and Jones (1989), agricultural practices in Amorgos and other Aegean islands include 'both an extensive "field" component and an intensive "garden" component and their relative importance is integrally related to recent patterns of residence and land tenure' (*ibid.*: 50). As already mentioned, the terraced gardens surrounding the village have traditionally been cultivated for the household's horticultural consumption and as pasture. However, fields at varying distances have also been cultivated, requiring journeys by mule or donkey of an

hour or more, as the result of dispersed landholdings. As Halstead and Jones (*ibid.*: 49) observe, 'nucleated settlement, dispersed landholdings and scarce human labour enforce an *extensive* pattern of land use'. An extensive land-use pattern requires the services of traction and pack animals, which ties farmers to the needs of their animals, adding to the already high level of drudgery and pressure of time experienced by the farmers in a semi-arid environment with uncertain weather prospects (*ibid.*: 47–9). Halstead and Jones emphasise three main features of agricultural practices on Amorgos, resulting from this combination of factors.

Firstly, the highly seasonal nature of agricultural activity, combined with uncertainties about the weather in a semi-arid environment, places the farmers of Amorgos under 'seasonal time stress', especially during the early summer period of harvesting and processing (*ibid.*: 53). Initial observations suggest that some people may have moved down to Kato Meria from Chora at about the same time that farmers from Arkesini moved into their field houses or stables on the Kolophana plain (*ibid.*: 42). In the beginning this move was a seasonal one in order to deal with time stress and so take advantage of the land availability (which was monastic land); later the whole family went down. If this happened in the period of monastic land availability, 1870–1915 (*ibid.*), it would allow four generations to be established at Kato Meria, which fits with my findings that there are people there with the same family names as in Chora but who do not consider themselves related to the Choraites, and daughters have been returning to Chora to marry (third cousins are not considered related for marriage purposes).

Secondly, it is clear how vital the role of animals is in this extensive field system of agriculture, which is also the only system that justifies their use on this scale, resulting in the vicious circle of drudgery, extra labour and time stress.

Thirdly, to combat the problems of agricultural risk and climate uncertainty, the farmers employ three separate strategies: a wide range of different crops are cultivated; a policy of regular overproduction (or 'normal surplus') is pursued, capable of providing two years' supplies of grain; and lastly, crop production has been integrated with animal husbandry to provide a further buffer against risk and to act as a safety valve.

In short, the characteristics of the settlement pattern are dictated by the subsistence strategies and these are of great significance also in understanding the prehistoric patterns (as presented in the case-study of Thermi below). Most sites, past and present, are scattered hamlets, or rather stone stables built in the fields in order to shelter indispensable animals. They are equipped with a hearth, oven and built platform where the farmer can sleep during his seasonal stay near his fields. Early Bronze Age (henceforth EBA) sites in Amorgos are usually located on hilltops with a view of, and access to the sea since the latter was an important source of subsistence resources as shell middens testify (Marangou, pers. comm.). This is

consistent with the findings on Lesbos, where the EBA settlement pattern consists of either coastal or hilltop sites (Lambrianides 1995).

THE SOCIAL AND STRUCTURAL TRANSITION OF CHORA, AMORGOS

Three aspects in particular are clear from initial observations of the historical palimpsest of Chora, Amorgos regarding the ways in which social and structural changes have come about in the settlement.

Firstly, the present layout of the village is very much the result of individual action, past and present: it is dominated by the Yannakos clan and its descendants who now comprise a significant proportion of the modern inhabitants, a situation which arose, of course, from the decision of one man to emigrate to Amorgos some two hundred years ago.

Secondly, the role of agriculture and pastoralism is extremely significant in the development of the village and in the colonisation of other parts of the island. Once again it is decisions which are made by the individual, such as moving location in order to reduce agricultural stress, which have affected the structure of the settlement at Chora and the pattern of settlement in other regions of the island most fundamentally.

Thirdly, the religious and ceremonial life of the village centred around the nearby Monastery of Chozoviotissa, the large number of churches inside the village and the churches and monastery annexes (Metochia) distributed around the island, is extremely rich. In the week following Easter, a series of processions begin in which icons are moved between the Monastery, the Metochi at Chora and at Ayios Giorgios Valsamitis, Katapola and several churches of Chora. Some of these processions involve much of the population of Chora as well as many from Kato Meria and Katapola in addition to the abbot and monks from the Monastery. Such processions therefore play a central role in reproducing the intra- and inter-community relations and the sense of identity which unites Chora with the Monastery, the settlements of Kato Meria and, at a more general level, with Greek Orthodoxy.[7]

THE ARCHITECTURAL SEQUENCE AT PREHISTORIC THERMI: A LOCAL RECORD OF SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

The excavations at the site of Thermi in Lesbos (Lamb 1936) shed the first light on the prehistory of Lesbos and revealed only the second site of the Troadic culture to be discovered after Troy itself (fig. 5.1). It has

been suggested that the first builders of Thermi chose this location on the east coast of the island primarily because it afforded easy contact with the mainland from where they had come (*ibid.*: 208; Kontis 1978: 202). The location has several advantages: it is near one of the narrowest crossings between the island and the mainland – today it is ca. 20 km from the beach at Thermi to the shore of the Madra Çay delta near Altinova; there are good sand or pebble beaches on both sides of the channel for pulling boats out of the sea on to a sheltered beach; and, lastly, the narrow but fertile coastal plain stretches south from Thermi for ca. 9 km.[8]

Lamb excavated five building phases at Thermi (Towns I to V, figs 5.4–5.9), revealing a material culture with strong affinities with Troy I–II and with north-west Anatolia more generally. From this record she inferred that both Troy and Thermi had been built by people with a common ancestor who had been living in western Anatolia during the preceding (Late Chalcolithic) period. However, whereas Troy grew into an important metropolis and centre of the east Aegean for nearly two millennia, Thermi remained a smaller and more modest site that was abandoned after only a few hundred years (Lamb 1936: 208–9). There are also indications of early contact between Thermi and the Cyclades, inferred from some broad square house plans (which are not typically Anatolian) together with an assemblage of stone figurines and marble bowl fragments from Towns I and II, although these finds cannot, of course, be regarded as conclusive proof of regular long-term contact.

Many of the material remains at the site, particularly the architectural sequence, the pottery repertoire, the metal objects and figurines and the evidence of textile-making, provide interesting insights into the local culture in Lesbos and its neighbouring areas in the EBA. As usual, the problem is how to interpret much of this intriguing but mute, archaeological evidence.

THE ARCHITECTURAL SEQUENCE AT THERMI

The architectural sequence of five building levels appears to reflect three main periods of local social history at the site. Firstly, an early period of peace and stability, characterised by a gradual consolidation of the way of life from Town I to II and then to the early period of Town III (figs 5.4–5.6). Secondly, a transitional middle period of apparent chaos and change, particularly in the stratigraphically confused phases of Towns IIIb and IVa when much of the site's organisation seems to have broken down (fig. 5.7). Thirdly, the chaos was followed by a second period of apparent stability, Towns IVb and V, when order was restored and organised town planning was imposed on the site (figs 5.8–5.9).

Figure 5.4 Thermi I; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 1

Figure 5.5 Thermi II; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 2

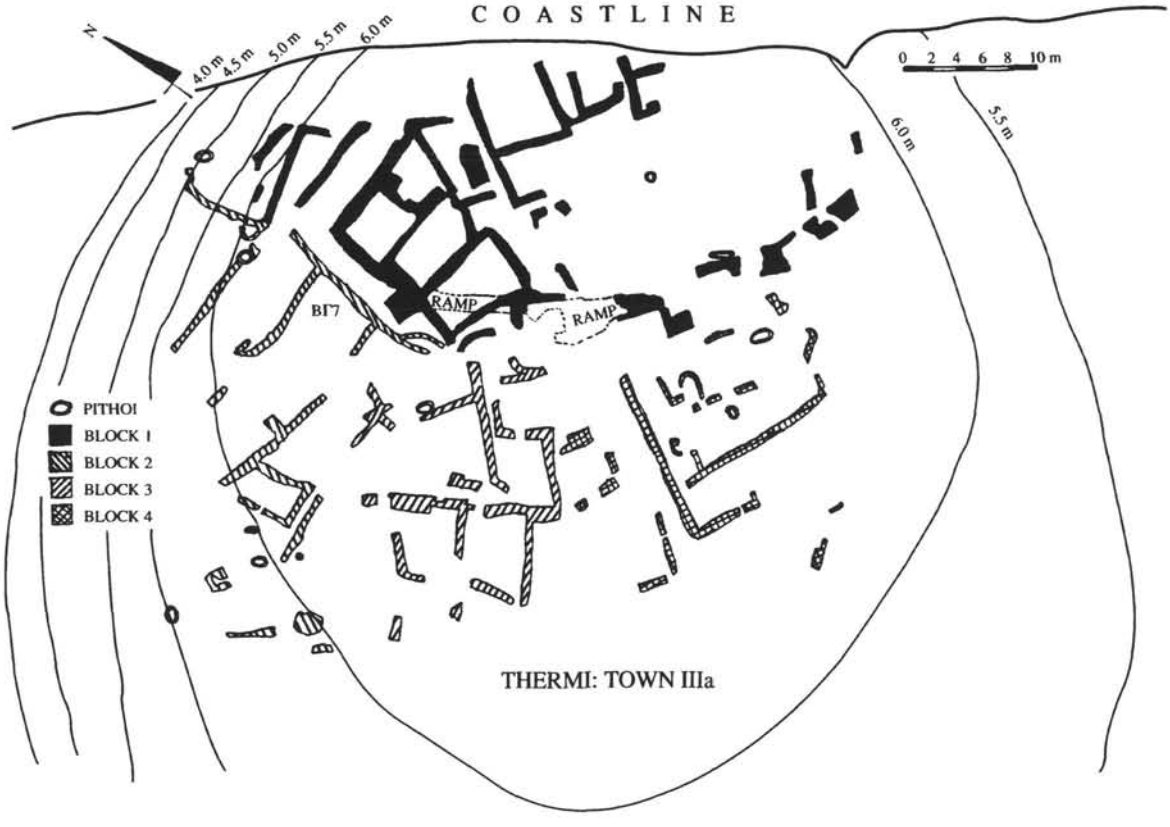


Figure 5.6 Thermi IIIa; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 3

Figure 5.7 Thermi IIIb, IVa; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 4

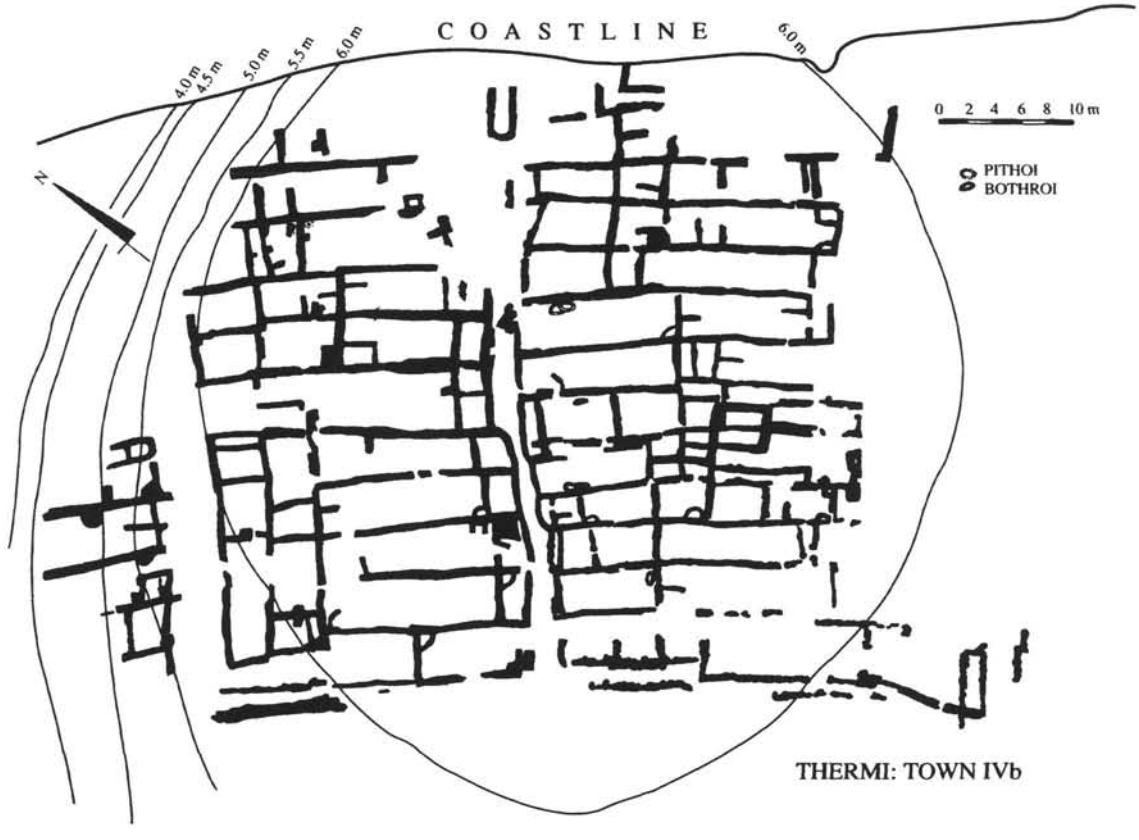


Figure 5.8 Thermi IVb; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 5

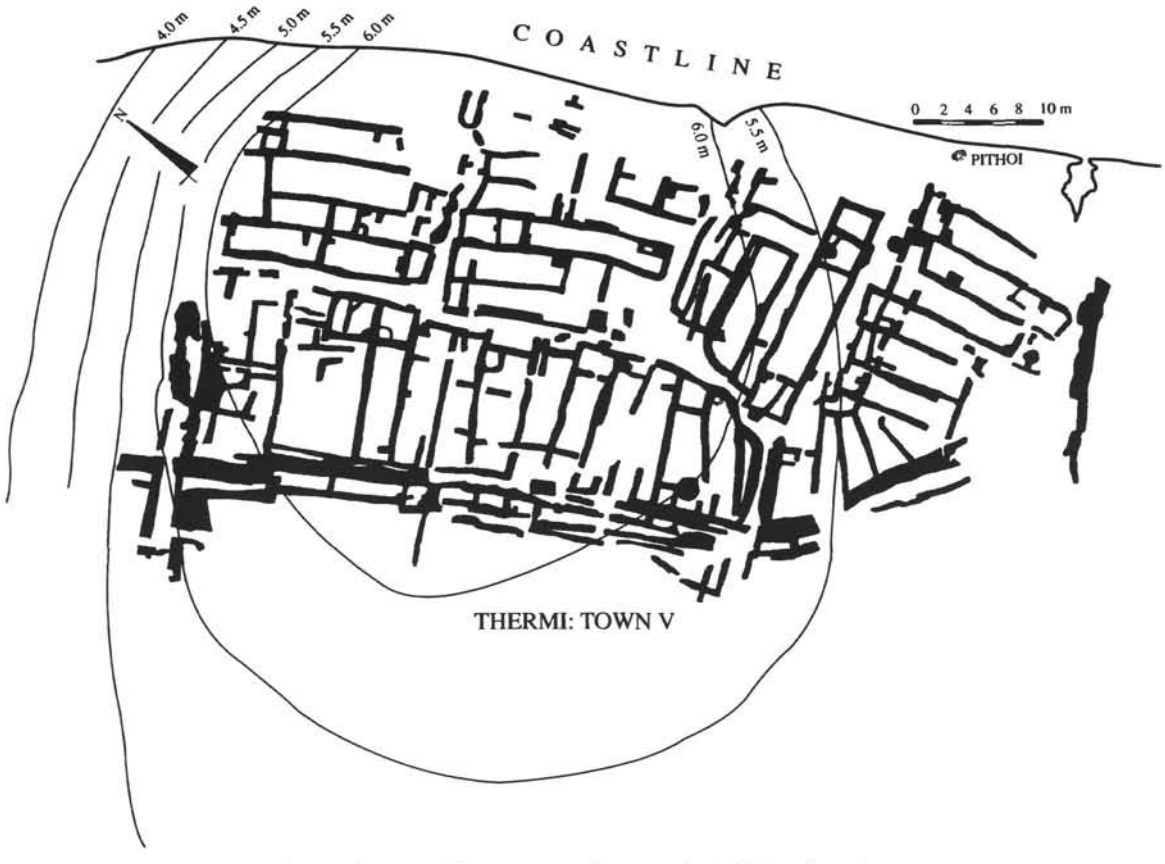


Figure 5.9 Thermi V; redrawn by Nigel Spencer after Lamb 1936, plan 6

To some extent the ceramic evidence agrees with these three periods of social life: Class A pottery is found only in Towns I, II and IIIa; Class B pottery coincides with the transitional period of Towns IIIb and IV; Class C pottery occurs only in the re-stabilised (and fortified) levels of Towns IVb and V (*ibid.*).

In Lamb's view, the earliest period of occupation reflected 'a peaceful, pastoral community living in well-built stone houses of considerable size without any fortification' (*ibid.*: 208) and 'without fear of aggression' (*ibid.*: 12). Since the first houses were built 'close to virgin soil', Lamb was concerned by the fact that she had 'no evidence of how or where they lived *while their first houses were being made*, or of any building of a very primitive character, like those of Eutresis, below Town I' (*ibid.*: 11–12, my emphasis). At Eutresis in central Greece (excavated by Goldman from 1924 to 1926) the first settlers, regarded as the founders of Early Helladic (henceforth EH) occupation at that site, were believed to have brought with them Neolithic pottery and a primitive houseplan from their place of origin and to have built 'temporary accommodation' while they built their first EH settlement. Goldman's comments provide a useful insight into how Lamb (and her contemporaries of the 1920s to 1930s) conceptualised the founding of a new settlement, such as Troy or Thermi, by people of the EBA: an organised band of pioneering immigrants arriving with a predetermined town plan (and houseplan as well) with the aim of building a specific type of settlement.

Much more recently, Korfmann has similarly argued that the concept of an organised settlement in the EBA, its regular maintenance and periodic renovation 'can be regarded as conditions *imposed upon the community from outside*' (1983: 243, my emphasis). This is the same as arguing that nucleated settlements would develop in antiquity only if hierarchically imposed and controlled and that they would not occur spontaneously without the intervention of an elite. This view raises the question of whether non-hierarchical, or non-communal, groups would necessarily tend to live in more dispersed patterns, in isolated hamlets, farmsteads or seasonal sites.

One of the central questions of this chapter is whether the settlement at Thermi in Lesbos in the EBA was communally organised by an elite, or (as the study of Chora on Amorgos has shown) could have been the product of the spontaneous decisions of kin-groups and their subsequent growth over several generations. A similar debate about the Early Minoan II site of Myrtos (Fournou Korifi) in Crete is instructive. This site is basically a cellular building complex of conjoined rooms, areas and passages (Warren 1987: 49, fig. 2), from which Warren concluded that the settlement was 'in the form of a single large complex without separately defined houses' and suggested that this reflected a 'social organisation based on a single large unit, a clan or tribe living communally and perhaps not differentiated into individual families, and quite without any apparent chief or ruler' (Warren 1972: 267). Whitelaw, however, has

criticised the idea that the site 'was conceived and constructed as an integrated whole' (1983: 324), proposing instead that Myrtos was composed of five or six 'recurring modules' or households, which formed the 'basic organisational units within the community' (*ibid.*: 332). The issues are very similar at Thermi.

Following his re-excavation of Demircihüyük, an inland EBA site near Eskisehir on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, Korfmann has proposed that a 'standard Anatolian settlement plan' emerged during the Neolithic, which persisted through the Chalcolithic into the EBA and is encountered widely in the east Mediterranean (Korfmann 1983: 222, fig. 354). This plan reflects an early form of settlement, one of whose main features is a radiating plan as found at Demircihüyük, Troy I–IIb and Towns I–III at Thermi (figs 5.4–5.6). Also in this class are such Neolithic/Chalcolithic/EBA sites as Hacilar I, Mersin XVI in Cilicia, Alishar and Ahlatlibel in central Anatolia, Karatash in south-west Anatolia, Aphrodisias and probably Beycesultan in the Maeander valley, the Heraion on Samos and perhaps Poliochni on Lemnos. In contrast, the later phases of Thermi (Towns IVb and V, figs 5.8–5.9), and also Troy IIc onward, belong to a more complex 'Herrschaftliche Burg', a hierarchically structured form of settlement, which appeared later in the EBA (EB2b and EB3) and reflected the increasingly ranked or stratified nature of communities at this time (*ibid.*: 229, 237, fig 370).

At Thermi, the existence of party walls from the earliest phase (fig. 5.4) has been interpreted as indicative of a 'communal organisation' (Blegen 1938: 593). However, as the plans show, the houses of Towns I–III are grouped into a number of distinct blocks (figs 5.4–5.6). Within each block, houses do appear to share walls but each block stands separate from other blocks. In Towns I and II there appear to be three or four separate blocks. In the transitional chaos of Towns IIIa and IIIb–IVa the blocks appear to be breaking down (figs 5.6–5.7). It is only in the mature phases of Towns IVb and V that the communal nature of Thermi clearly emerges as a densely packed linear system of agglomerated houses and streets (figs 5.8–5.9).

Towns I–III of Thermi appear to follow a rather haphazard radiating plan, orientated north–south and east–west, in contrast to the linear scheme of the later phases, Towns IV and V (Lamb 1936: 12, 25, 209). At Demircihüyük, all the house-units excavated are deliberately conjoined, sharing party walls to form a continuous exterior which performs the role of a defensive wall around the whole site with at least two gateways (Korfmann 1983: 189, fig. 343).[9] More similar to Thermi is the layout of Poliochni on Lemnos (Bernabo-Brea 1964: 132), where groups of conjoined houses form 'isole' or 'islands' consisting of a main house to which have been added extra rooms, creating a complex not unlike the house blocks of Thermi I–IIIa.

The basic house unit at Poliochni, Demircihüyük and Thermi is the long and rather narrow megaron-like houseplan of one main room with a porch in front that is partially closed. At Demircihüyük it is more regular than at Thermi and more obviously built to conjoin with its neighbours (Korfmann 1983: 320-1, fig. 352), while at Poliochni, where more space seems to have been allowed and houses are less packed together, there is greater variety in the type of megaron, with both closed and open porches, whereas at Thermi closed porches tend to be favoured.

In his plan of Thermi II Korfmann includes an internal ramp, which Lamb found in Town IIIa (fig. 5.6). His argument is that this structure encloses an inner protected area of the site, similar perhaps to an acropolis or upper town, while the areas outside this structure represent a kind of lower town (but it is to be noted that Town II is all on the same level, Lamb 1936: unnumbered plan showing sections a–b, c–d, e–f). It is interesting that Old Smyrna, though much later, has a very similar internal fortified area, interpreted as providing protection for the elite living in the central area of the site (Nicholls 1958–9).

This is a very persuasive, but technical, interpretation of the evidence which still overlooks most of the significant social information contained in the town plans of Thermi. There are no radical changes in architecture or town plan during Towns I–II. In Town I can be identified three or four house groups which evolve gradually and consolidate into cohesive blocks in Town II (see figs 5.4–5.5). These are:

Block 1: house units A, B, Δ, E.
Block 2: house units Γ, BΓ, K, KZ.
Block 3: house unit Z.
Block 4: house units Λ, EΛ, NΛ.

There is remarkable consistency of events within Thermi I–IIIa (figs 5.4–5.6). The central Block 1 appears to have almost no storage facilities but survives as a cohesive unit into Town IIIa, when it also appears to acquire a 'fortified' appearance. In contrast, the three surrounding Blocks (2–4) in the outer area lose all their storage facilities in Town II and then collapse as viable entities into fragmentary residential units in Town IIIa, some with bothroi (clay-lined pits). There is sufficient evidence to indicate that these outer sectors were not abandoned at this time, since hearths and floors are reconstructed at various levels above the beginning of Town IIIa. Furthermore, in unit BΓ7 of Block 2 (fig. 5.6) were found four terracotta figurines, an innovation compared to the stone idols of earlier phases (Lamb 1936: 149).

Unlike the other blocks, Block 1 does not break down in Town IIIa. On the contrary, it seems to acquire a massive wall and bastion which may be associated with other fragments of massive walls and bastions running through the centre of the site in Town IIIa (see fig. 5.6) and

the excavator considered the possibility that this may be an inner defensive structure (*ibid.*: 24–5, fig. 9). The effect of these structures is to encircle and separate the houses of Block 1 from the rest of the site (cf. Korfmann 1983: fig. 364).

Thus Town III represents a most intriguing phase in the history of the settlement. It is as though the pattern of life established in the first two phases has been disrupted either by internal or external factors. Of the three main blocks in Town II, only Block 1 has survived as an organised unit: the others have fragmented, although people continue to live in them, and Block 1 appears to have separated itself from the rest of the site behind a defensive wall, splitting the settlement in two.

Lamb (1936: 25) and Korfmann (1983: 232) both argue the case that the settlement was threatened by outside aggression and that the radical changes reflected in the architecture are the result of a military catastrophe. To support this view they cite the discovery of human remains, some with broken skulls, in the levels of Town IIIa (Lamb 1936: 28). This interpretation of change as being due to external aggression is common in Aegean–Anatolian archaeology, stemming from the widely held belief that cultural groups (archaeological or otherwise) also represent homogeneous and unchanging ethnic groups which will always act as a unit. This view neglects what is frequently observed in practice, that any kind of human grouping is culturally constructed, context-specific and very flexible, as Jonathan Hall has emphasised elsewhere in this volume for the Argolid in the Early Iron Age.

It could instead be argued that purely internal factors may have disrupted the social structure of Town II, perhaps reflecting some deeper social tension between the various groups in the community. Both interpretations are equally supported by the architectural evidence. The inner defences could be the result of an attempt to protect the more important centre of the town from outside intruders, or they could reflect basic changes in internal social relations, transforming them from friendly to hostile or from acquiescence to resistance.

The architectural evidence is not very helpful in this matter, showing no change in plan or building technique. But there are several other aspects of the material culture which suggest that purely internal changes were taking place: the near-total loss of pithos hole facilities (without outside intruders) at the end of Town I (cf. figs 5.4 and 5.5); the gateway between Blocks 2 and 3 in Town II (fig. 5.5); the appearance of the unusual building unit with its platform and circle of stones in Block 4, again in Town II. Thus the appearance of the internal ramp or defensive wall in the middle of the site in Town IIIa is only one in a whole series of material changes which are not being reflected in the architecture at this stage. Either the architecture is lagging behind other innovations, or it is deliberately acting to deny the fact of change by persisting with the same basic style and technique of house building as

in earlier phases of the settlement (cf. Lamb 1936: 24, 209; Korfmann 1983: 232).

In phase IIIa the bothroi (clay-lined pits) appear for the first time (fig. 5.6), sunk into the floors of several houses (Lamb 1936: 24), suggesting a radical change in some (still unclear) aspect of daily life at this time. They become much more common in Towns IIIb–IVa before declining sharply in IVb and disappearing completely in Town V (cf. figs 5.7–5.9). The most popular view is that the deeper ones at least functioned as stores for grain or other vegetables (Lamb 1936: 61–4), in which case they might represent a deliberate policy of intensified self-sufficiency by household units in this period. The distribution of these pits about the site is also interesting, since they are to be found mainly outside the enclosed inner block surrounded by its defensive structure.

New pottery fabrics and shapes, Lamb's transitional class brown wares, also appear for the first time in Town IIIa, alongside the earlier Class A wares of Towns I and II (Lamb 1936: 209). Terracotta figurines appear also, in great numbers, for the first time in Town IIIa, replacing the handful of 'fiddle-shape' marble idols of Towns I and II, with their clearly Cycladic connections (*ibid.*).

In general, then, Town IIIa is a time when many new material symbols are being introduced, in addition to taking new practical measures, such as the introduction of bothroi (possibly for food storage or for drainage within the houses, Lamb 1936: 61–4) and defensive walls.

The stratigraphic picture of the settlement becomes more complex and chaotic in the next phase (IIIb and IVa) (fig. 5.7). The architecture can no longer disguise the obvious social changes taking place and the new house styles now appear alongside the older ones from the earlier phases. The transition from the early phases (I–IIIa) to the late Towns (IV–V), already observed in many other aspects of the material culture in Town IIIa, now begins to take place (a little later) in the architecture of IIIb–IVa (*ibid.*: 209).

Above the buildings of phase IIIa there are structures of two kinds (see fig. 5.7): the first, older type is found in the middle of the site and resembles the houses below in IIIa; sometimes their walls are the same as in IIIa, re-used in IIIb. The second, new style of houses occurs 'on the outlying parts of the sites' and consists of 'well-preserved houses planned and oriented like those of Towns IVb and V' (*ibid.*). It is difficult to decide whether they are contemporary, since they are not superimposed. Houses of the old type are to be found on the higher central part of the mound, whereas the new type of house is on the lower slopes of the mound.[10] It is interesting to note that the old style of house is located above the area occupied by the houses in Block 1 in the earlier phases (II–IIIa).[11] Thus the architectural evidence can now reflect change but cannot provide stratigraphy for these changes.

The pottery of this period cannot help to date the two sets of house types, because the new types of houses of Town IVa contain mainly pottery of the same Class B transitional wares, as were in the houses of phase IIIa, and little or none of the new Class C brown wares, which eventually replace all other pottery in Towns IVb and V (*ibid.*: 29–30, 209).

The ceramic evidence alone, therefore, does not support the view that new people arrived from outside with new pottery and a new houseplan. It *does* suggest that new houses were built in new locations by people who had been using earlier types of pottery at the site since Town IIIa. Whether these people arrived through aggression and military catastrophe it is not possible to ascertain from the material culture, which now presents a confused picture more consistent with a poorly articulated social structure, as would arise in conditions of high intra-communal tension. Only when the full change in the material culture takes place, during Towns IVb and V, can it be said that the architecture and pottery are once more co-ordinated.

There is no abrupt division between Towns IVa and IVb; the one develops into the other (*ibid.*: 35). The extension of the inhabited area continues and the houses become more closely packed and ordered into a regular urban plan (fig. 5.8). The tensions of the previous phases are no longer expressed openly either in the architecture, which has become standardised, or in the material culture. Perhaps the larger population is peacefully settled once more into an organised and more routine pattern of life under a new set of social and cultural conditions.

Material culture evidence suggests continuity between Towns IVb and V, although in V the streets are bigger and more regular. Houses are more standardised, reflecting the full megaron plan (fig. 5.9). Above all, houses now are rarely freestanding, forming instead large groups of neighbourhoods (cf. Bernabo-Brea 1964). These final phases are characterised by a well-organised, linear settlement layout, surrounded by a massive and increasingly complex defensive system of multiple fortifications and town gateways (figs 5.8 and 5.9). This is a genuine innovation compared to the earlier Towns and appears to support Korfmann's idea of a 'Herrschaftliche Burg' (see above). The pottery of Towns IVb and V, Class C, has also completed its transition, replacing the wares of the lower phases and linking Thermi IVb and especially V with the prosperous levels of Troy IIc–d (Korfmann 1983: 237, fig. 370).

This analysis of Thermi thus provides a useful insight into the diachronic process of social development and change in an urbanising situation. Its most intriguing phases are undoubtedly IIIa, IIIb and IVa which allow us to see the rebuilding of a settlement following some important event, perhaps the collapse of part of the earlier site into the sea (see note 8). The ordered later site of phases IVb–V suggests that much care was taken

in building it to avoid such an event recurring. However, it leaves the big questions floating and unanswered, particularly as there does not seem to be any kind of cemetery associated with the settlement which could help us to reach a better understanding of the settlers' cosmological beliefs and ritual practices. Perhaps this is an indication that the Thermiotes really were recent arrivals to the area, coming without much cultural baggage and having left undesired ancestors and memories behind them in an attempt to create a new life in which an unpleasant past is being minimised. This movement could even have been the result of an individual's decision to cross over to Lesbos, a model which the palimpsest of Chora, Amorgos, shows is, after all, far from impossible.

CONCLUSIONS

The two analyses presented above emphasise one basic point which must be kept in mind when interpretations are offered for the settlement record of prehistoric cultures. In Chora, Amorgos, there are clear indications that in a traditional, pre-industrial society change is predominantly the result of actions at the individual level: the decision of one man to move to the island resulted in his clan dominating the main settlement of the island; also, decisions by individual members or small groups of the settlement to move their place of domicile sometimes were undertaken simply for the reason of reducing agricultural stress. In such micro-scale events there was neither military intervention nor the influence of any dominant external agency, but nevertheless the events still had fundamental effects upon the physical, social and economic structure of the settlement as it evolved through time.

Such observations are obviously relevant to how one should approach the subtle diachronic changes visible in the settlement at Thermi and emphasise that there is no need to resort to the macro-scale process to explain the developments which one sees in the archaeological record. Clearly, a large variety of random and haphazard events and everyday living patterns can combine quite easily to form a meaningful final picture.

It remains to emphasise that neither case-study is more valid than the other and each is studied for its own particular interest. But together they help to demonstrate the irrelevance of a global–local or a rationalist–relativist dichotomy: it is much more rewarding to consider each settlement as the record of its own creation and as the context for interpreting its own cultural evidence.

NOTES

1 The research for the section on Thermi is drawn from my doctoral thesis *The Early Bronze Age communities of Lesbos and Altinova: settlement culture and exchange on the Aegean coast of Anatolia in the fourth and third millennia* BC

(University of London, 1995). Sincere thanks are due to Dr Nigel Spencer for his eternal patience in awaiting the paper, for his extensive editing of the text and for kindly drawing the illustrations at very short notice. The editor also provided the photograph of Chora (fig. 5.3). Any errors which remain are, of course, my own.

2 The monastery derives its name from its most famous icon and reflects the icon's provenance from the monastery of the same name near Jericho in Palestine.

3 According to Halstead and Jones (1989: 42) these mule tracks were built by communal labour in recent decades, all males between fifteen and sixty contributing three days per year.

4 I was informed by a retired shepherd (born in 1903) that he had chosen to pasture his sheep on the neighbouring uninhabited island of Keros where he had lived with his wife permanently for forty years (starting in the 1920s), returning to Amorgos only for ceremonial occasions such as Easter and for certain market days. This couple had no offspring and eventually returned permanently to Chora to retire. His brother had also pastured his sheep on Keros for almost as long but chose to stay there only seasonally, spending the rest of his time with his family which he had left behind in Chora. These two cases are just some of the possible permutations arising through pastoralism: neither led to permanent settlement, and both occurred during the same period that there was a settled agricultural community nearby. It is useful, therefore, to compare these two models with the Early Bronze Age material in the cave of Agios Bartholomaios on Lesbos, high up in the hills south of modern Mytilene (ca. 15 km south of Thermi), where whole pots typologically earlier than Thermi (but no burials) have been found, suggested to be a seasonal shepherd's site (Charitonidis 1960: 235, pl. 207a–d). A site such as Agios Bartholomaios in Lesbos could easily be the result of (perhaps only seasonal) colonisation from one of the nearby lowland settlements, as with the model from Keros; alternatively it may represent more permanent colonisation as happened in Amorgos at Kato Meria, where the move made from Chora was designed to reduce agricultural stress (see section on agriculture).

5 All three of these descendants, the baker, transporter and property owner, are brothers, the seventh generation counting from the original settler.

6 The main church, the Mitropolis, is used on three Sundays in four and the All Souls one in four.

7 A much fuller treatment of the role of processions in the island's social life is being prepared (Lambrianides, in prep.).

8 Perhaps the only disadvantage of the site's location was that, perched on the shore, it was susceptible to erosion by the sea. The loss of some of the site is clear from Lamb's excavations. Kontis (1978: 202) calculates that nearly half the site of Thermi has been eroded by the sea and that the settlement may originally have been as large as 1.6 hectares in area. Korfmann similarly argues that the original area of the site was much greater (1983: 229). In his redrawn plan of Town II (*ibid.*: 230, fig. 364) Korfmann includes Lamb's findings from her soundings in trench ΘH on the south-east edge of the main excavation (Lamb 1936: figs 8, 11, 13). On the basis of this new plan Korfmann calculates that the settlement extended further along the cliff edge; that it had a larger diameter than originally believed (ca. 150 m in total);

and he calculates a total area of 1.70 hectares for the full pre-erosion radiating plan of the early levels (similar to Kontis' estimation), of which at least half has been eroded away (Korfmann 1983: 229).

9 This structure is of course reminiscent of that of the early traditional settlement at Chora on Amorgos (see above).

10 Lamb has designated type 1 as belonging to phase IIIb and type 2 to phase IVa (Lamb 1936: 29) to indicate the lack of stratigraphic association.

11 Lamb suggests that the centre of the mound became built up by extended occupation during Towns I–IIIa (Lamb 1936: 29). The formation of a tell-like structure may partly account for the trend to building new houses in IVa onwards lower down the mound.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ORGANISATION OF SPACE IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC HOUSES FROM MAINLAND GREECE AND THE WESTERN COLONIES[1]

LISA NEVETT

Abstract: The study of ancient Greek housing has been largely ignored when sites in Greece have been excavated, emphasis falling instead more on large public buildings or temples. Even when studies of housing have been carried out the perspectives offered have been largely functional ones which have given little attention to the domestic social context of the buildings. This chapter illustrates the value of viewing ancient housing in this latter context and compares houses from mainland Greece with those from southern Italy and Sicily, exploring whether there really are underlying patterns of domestic spatial organisation visible and how these change through time.

INTRODUCTION

Many of our most familiar images of Classical Greece are conjured up through the surviving public monuments such as temples, or the literary works which were performed or read aloud in public settings like law courts and theatres. Yet the more intimate imagery of the red-figure pottery and painted grave monuments, which were produced during the same period, serve to remind us that all too often the surviving literary works represent only the public face of a society whose domestic life was intensely private and therefore relatively inaccessible through the traditional textual sources.

In this chapter I want to look at some of the archaeological remains of houses in which domestic activity took place. My aim is to concentrate on the urban context, exploring the degree to which it is possible to talk about 'the Greek house' in a normative sense – a question which has important implications for our picture of the extent of regional differences between different areas of the Greek world in terms of domestic life.

Implicit in my discussion is an assumption which broadly underlies numerous recent ethnographic and archaeological studies of household organisation in a variety of contexts. This assumption is that the structuring of domestic space is linked with a variety of factors, which include not only the obvious practical considerations relating to the environmental and economic context in which the household is located but also the patterns of social interaction and the cultural norms and expectations of the society in question.[2] Thus, when looked at in conjunction with literary and artistic sources (Nevett 1992; Nevett in prep.), the archaeological remains of Greek houses become a tool which is fundamental to constructing a picture of domestic social organisation in the Greek world (Walker 1983; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986), rather than simply illustrating, or helping us to visualise, the Greek domestic context.

CONSTRUCTING A MODEL FOR GREEK DOMESTIC SPATIAL ORGANISATION

Although houses of Classical and Hellenistic date have been excavated at a number of different sites, the size of the sample fully recovered, and the detail in which each structure is recorded, is intensely variable. As a rule, the level of preservation is unimpressive, with stone walls surviving only to three or four courses, above which there was a mud brick superstructure. Thus, most of our architectural information relates to the plan of the house, namely the locations and relationships between walls, doorways and features such as hearths or column bases. Details about the objects found in different areas, which would provide additional information through which to assess the uses of individual spaces, are only exceptionally available.

Our most extensive and detailed information comes from the ancient city of Olynthos, on the Chalkidiki peninsula in northern Greece, and this provides a model which can be tested against the less extensive material from elsewhere. More than fifty complete units were excavated and information is available relating both to the architecture and the finds and includes lists of the rooms in which individual objects were found (Robinson 1929–52).

The excavated houses probably date from the last quarter of the fifth century to the first half of the fourth (Robinson and Graham 1938: 1–17). The majority of the city is laid out on an orthogonal grid plan, defined by a series of parallel streets and avenues. Between these lie

rectangular blocks of space, divided by narrow alleys into two strips of five equal-sized house plots. This layout gives the impression that the houses are very similar (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986: 42–50). On closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that there is some variation in house size: sometimes an individual house plot is used for more than one dwelling. Elsewhere, the available living space is reduced by the inclusion of shops or workshops, or by the enlargement of one house at the expense of its neighbour and possibly offers evidence of economic and/or social differentiation within the sample of excavated houses (Nevett forthcoming).

In short, the different houses at Olynthos are by no means identical but statistical analysis of the distribution of archaeological features and finds within the houses (Nevett 1992; Nevett in prep.) shows that some aspects of the organisation of household activity are shared in enough instances for a generalised picture to be drawn (see fig. 6.1). Even the smallest houses are provided with some outdoor space in the form of a courtyard, which is sometimes decorated with coloured plaster walls and bronze fitments. This space usually lay to the centre or south of the house and was enclosed by the walls of the surrounding rooms. It was of key importance in terms of the overall spatial organisation of the house, giving access to the interior from the outside world, via the street door and connecting the various rooms of the house, which did not generally communicate. A colonnade or *pastas* ran along at least one side, sheltering the entrances to some of the larger rooms. The upper storey was also reached through the court in houses where evidence of a staircase was found. Judging from the number and range of finds, both the court and the colonnade seem to have been used for a variety of different household activities (Nevett 1992: 80; Nevett in prep.).

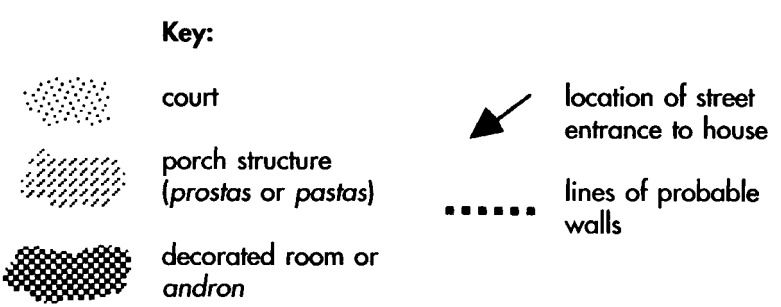
Although it may have been overlooked by one or two neighbouring properties (the details of the superstructure are not clear enough to allow detailed reconstruction of roof-lines and window locations), the way in which the outdoor court is enclosed by the remainder of the house suggests that it was essentially a private area and various other features of the organisation of space within the house support this interpretation. Only a single entrance is present, even though in most cases a second door could have been provided at the rear, from the alley which ran between the two house rows. Any view from the street into the court was frequently restricted by the presence of a screen-wall and lobby (for example house AV10 [Robinson and Graham 1938: pl. 95; house AVII4, see fig. 6.1]) or because the court was approached via a narrow, angled passage (for example house AV3 (*ibid.*: pl. 95) and house AVI7 [*ibid.*: pl. 97]).

In addition to the court, the uses of various indoor spaces can be reconstructed (*ibid.*: 167–213; Nevett 1992: 67–74): shops or workshops faced on to the street, with their own entrances, and often lacked a door

to the remainder of the house. Other rooms which can often be identified include the so-called *oecus* complex (Mylonas 1946, *passim*), which comprises an *oikos* or main room and a kitchen with smoke flue. Neither of these two spaces seems to have been decorated and both generally seem to have had beaten earth floors. A third element of the *oecus* complex is a small bathroom, where plaster was sometimes used on floor and/or walls, probably for hydraulic purposes.

Together with the majority of the other rooms, whose usage is more difficult to discern, the *oecus* complex was relatively plain in comparison with the decoration given to the court. Nevertheless there was sometimes one room which was decorated in a comparable manner: it had coloured plaster walls and a plaster or mosaic floor, often with a raised border, which has been taken to be the location for couches arranged around the edge of the room and was sometimes reached through a small antechamber, decorated in a similar fashion. This complex has plausibly been identified as an *andron* (Robinson and Graham 1938: 171–8), a room which is described in a variety of literary texts as the location where *symposia* would have occurred and these are illustrated on a number of vase paintings. (The use of the *andron* for the *symposium* would not, of course, have meant that the room did not serve other purposes which were not recorded.) The comparative lavishness of the *andron* and court suggests that they were the areas of the house most likely to have been seen by visitors.

Various features of the spatial organisation of the Olynthian houses are striking: the first is the presence of only a single street door and the frequent blocking of sight-lines between here and the interior of the house. Both of these measures reinforce the impression that the domestic environment as a whole was essentially a private environment, to which both physical and even visual access were carefully controlled. Once inside the house, the central location of the court and the fact that it gave access to the majority of the rooms, would have given it control – either in a literal or a metaphorical sense – over communication around the



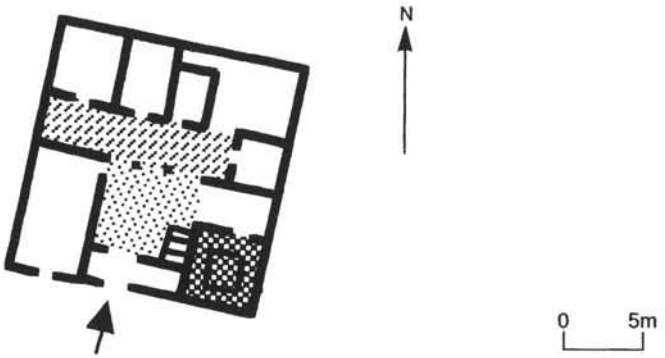


Figure 6.1 Olynthos, house AVII4. *Source* Adapted from Robinson and Graham 1938, plate 99

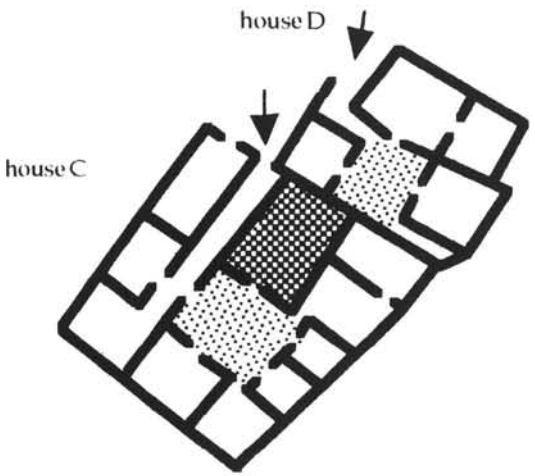


Figure 6.2 Athens, houses C and D near the Great Drain. *Source* Adapted from Thompson and Wycherley 1972, fig. 41

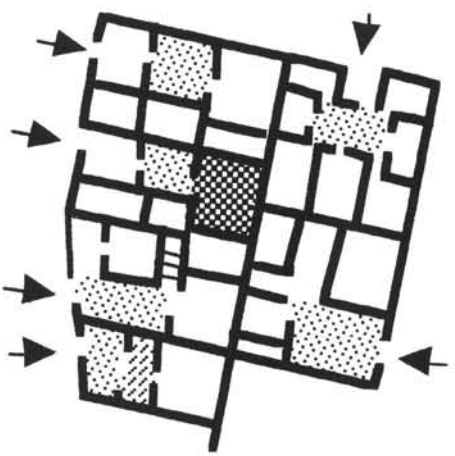


Figure 6.3 Athens, houses at the north foot of the Areopagus. *Source* Adapted from Thompson 1959, plate 17

house. Given this emphasis on privacy, the fact that the *andron* was also reached via the court, rather than directly from the entrance to the house or via a separate street door, is perhaps surprising and seems to reflect a deliberate choice, rather than a practical necessity. The elaboration of the court and *andron*, in contrast to the remainder of the house, suggests that these two areas were a focus for the display of the household to visitors. Nevertheless, the court also controlled access to the *andron* and, once visitors were inside, privacy both for them and for the remainder of the household would have been provided by a closable door and sometimes also by an anteroom.

Taken together, these various different features suggest that the spatial organisation of Olynthian houses was designed to control both interaction between the house and the outside world and movement within the house. Thus, social relations seem to have been a significant influence on the organisation of the house and I have argued elsewhere that these spatial patterns are consistent with the regulation of contact between family members (in particular women) and unrelated male visitors (Nevett 1994 *passim*; Nevett forthcoming).

In sum, the archaeological evidence from Olynthos suggests that although individual houses can be subject to some degree of variation, there is an underlying pattern of domestic spatial organisation, which for ease of reference can be termed the 'single entrance, courtyard model'. But can this underlying pattern be detected over a wider geographical area? The remainder of the chapter considers a number of sites from two main areas, firstly the mainland of Greece and secondly southern Italy and Sicily, to test the hypothesis.

THE GREEK MAINLAND

Information on housing from other sites in mainland Greece is less extensive than at Olynthos. Nevertheless the data available still provide an opportunity to look at a variety of settlements of differing sizes and layouts, in a range of locations.

Athens (figs 6.2 and 6.3)

The groups of irregular fifth- and fourth-century houses from near the Great Drain in the Athenian Agora (Thompson 1949; Thompson and Wycherley 1972) and from north of the Areopagus (Thompson 1959) follow the single entrance, courtyard model in many respects. As at Olynthos the individual rooms opened into the court and rarely communicated with each other. Normally there was only a single entrance and although in some of the smaller examples this led directly into the court, in others care seems to have been taken to screen the street door from the inside of the house: in house D near the Great Drain, a dog-leg

entrance was preferred where a direct route could have been constructed and in house C there is a screen wall which separated the street door and two adjoining rooms from the courtyard and the remainder of the house. In the north-east house of the group at the north of the Areopagus, a wall again separates the entrance from the interior of the house.

Thasos (figs 6.4 and 6.5)

Many similar characteristics also occur in houses found in the ancient city of Thasos, which were constructed in the late fifth to early fourth century. The house from *insula* II near the Silen Gate (Grandjean 1988: 201–37) has a very simple appearance, with only two rooms and a southerly facing court in its final phase; nevertheless, it suggests that comparable factors were at work to those which influenced the houses at Olynthos and Athens. A partition wall and paved area just inside the single street door seem to indicate a type of porch structure, isolating the street door from the remainder of the court and thus preventing visual contact between court and street. Two houses in *insula* I on the same site (Garlan 1974: 799; Grandjean 1976: 768; 1988: 67–198) resemble the single entrance, courtyard model more closely in layout: in each case a single entrance gives access to a central court. The majority of the rooms lie to the north, through a long, narrow room which perhaps functioned in the same way as the Olynthian *pastas*: although a foundation ran across the side facing on to the court, the height of the wall which it supported is unclear.

Halieis (fig. 6.6)

A similar pattern is found in five fully excavated houses at Halieis (Boyd and Rudolph 1978), which were occupied during the fourth century (*ibid.*: 344). The major rooms lie to the north and the court forms a focal point at the south. Characteristic *andrones* are found in at least three instances (house C, area 7 house, house D: Ault pers. comm.), always near to the street door and again they seem to have been constructed so that guests were deliberately brought through the courtyard area, although alternative doorways could have been created either directly from the outside or (in the case of house C) from the entrance area. There are, however, traces of possible anteroom structures in at least two cases, which would have ensured separation between diners and household, in a similar way to the houses at Olynthos.

Ammotopos (fig. 6.7)

At Ammotopos in Epirus (Hammond 1953; Dakaris 1986; 1989: n. 17), a single excavated house dates from the late fourth to early third century

(Hammond 1953: 139; Dakaris 1986: 117–19). In plan, the house follows the single entrance, courtyard model: a street door leads into a central court, bordered by rooms and on one side by a covered portico. One of the most significant aspects of this example is that because the walls are entirely of stone they are preserved virtually to roof-level, so that there is an exceptional opportunity to study the location and form of the windows, whose openings remain in the walls. These are small and funnel-shaped and seem to have been located at well above head height; both their size and position add to the impression of exclusion of the outside world from the internal environment of the house.

Kassope (fig. 6.8)

In the houses of Kassope (Dakaris 1989), constructed originally in the fourth century (*ibid.*: 46), there is a slightly different pattern of spatial organisation and this perhaps indicates similar priorities to those operating elsewhere but mediated by a somewhat cooler mountain environment. The court is relatively small in size and this is compensated for by a greater roofed area. A large main room leading off the court dominates access to many of the other rooms and to the upper storey and it also contains a hearth. Such features suggest that this room may have combined some of the functions of activity area and centre for communications, which are more frequently performed by the court, with those of the *oikos* or family room, found at Olynthos. Unlike the remainder of the house, the *andron* and one other room (perhaps a workshop) are entered directly from the court, near the front entrance to the house, forming a more accessible area than the inner rooms and possibly keeping guests away from the *oikos*.

Eretria (figs 6.9 and 6.10)

The house of the mosaics seems to have been occupied by the early fourth century (Ducrey *et al.* 1993: 18, 34) and demonstrates a new feature: in contrast to the houses discussed so far, this building is organised around two courtyards. Leading off the western one are a variety of decorated rooms, including two which have both been interpreted as *andrones*. In contrast, the eastern court and the rooms around it seem to have had a more domestic function (*ibid.*: 40). There is a single entrance to the house at the south and the foundation of a wall runs between the two parts, with the location of the entrance to the eastern area now lost (*ibid.*). Such a form of organisation would have meant that visitors were separated from household members to a greater degree than with the use of an anteroom.

Larger houses of a similar date have been excavated on the west hill area of the same site (Auberson and Schefold 1973; Krause 1977). In the

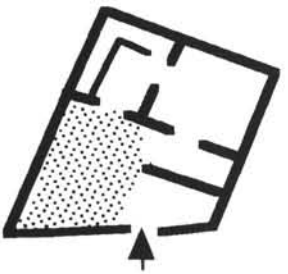


Figure 6.4 Thasos, *Quartier de la Porte du Silène, insula* II house (period 4, phase 2). *Source* Adapted from Grandjean 1988, plate 77

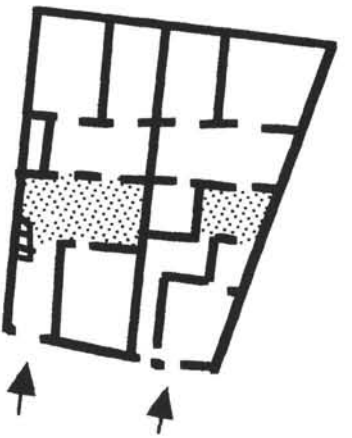
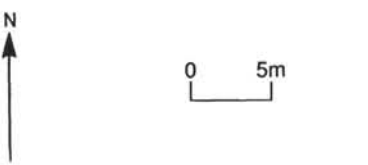


Figure 6.5 Thasos, *Quartier de la Porte du Silène, insula* I (period 4, phase 1). *Source* Adapted from Grandjean 1988, plates 47 and 64



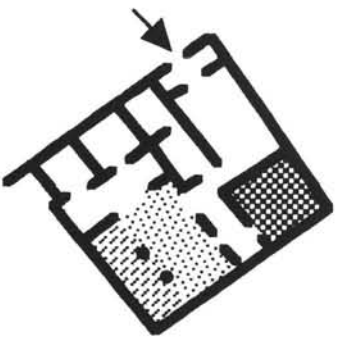


Figure 6.6 Halieis, house C. *Source* Adapted from Boyd and Rudolph 1978: 348

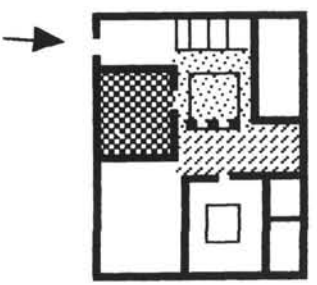


Figure 6.7 Ammotopos, house 1. *Source* Adapted from Dakaris 1986, fig. 5

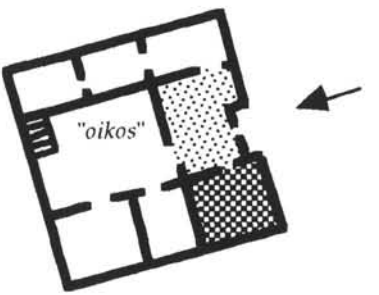


Figure 6.8 Kassope, house 14. *Source* Adapted from Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, fig. 198

southernmost house (house 2) there are again two courts rather than one. The sizes of the rooms, together with the identification of a kitchen to the west and an *andron* to the east, suggest that the two courts may represent the focus respectively of household and visitor apartments (Ducrey *et al.* 1993: 40–1).

Halos (figs 6.11 and 6.12)

Two houses from the city of Halos in Thessaly have so far been published (Reinders 1988), which probably date to the very early third century (*ibid.*: 189). Although one of these structures follows the Olynthian model quite closely, featuring a southern court, with a single entrance and a porch area to the north (house A), the second (the House of the Coroplast) is unlike anything described so far. Despite this, however, the published plan can be explained as a modification of the single entrance, courtyard model. The plan of the house is linear, rather than centripetal, with the rooms leading from one to the next, rather than radiating from a central court. There seems to have been an open court to the north-west, which plays a relatively minor role in communications around the house. In the south-west corner is an area which is interpreted as a workshop for the fabrication of clay models, where a variety of moulds and fragments have been found (*ibid.*: 125). This western section is separated from the eastern range of rooms by a wall which divides the house in two. The only visible doorway is at the extreme south, from the workshop into a long, narrow store room. From there a large 'living area' is reached through a small kitchen (*ibid.*: 128–9) and a similar-sized room of unknown function (perhaps, as in the Olynthian house, a bathroom), so that the house seems to have been divided into two distinct halves, with the west forming a relatively public workshop area, whilst to the east were the private apartments.

Despite the long wall frontage of the private area, the published plan suggests that it communicates with the remainder of the house only in one place, through the workshop. Control over access to the private areas perhaps lay with the artisan, who may therefore have been the occupant of the house. The normal role of the court is abandoned and it seems likely that this reflects the presence in the house of outsiders: it acts as a communication route only to the workshop and not for the house in general and it is unlikely to have provided the extension of living space suggested above in the context of Olynthos. Support for this view is the lack of any kind of roofed activity area, such as the *pastas* of the Olynthian houses.

Pella (figs 6.13 and 6.14)

A further structure, perhaps of third-century date, is house B at Pella (Oikonomos 1914; 1915).[3] Although it is not preserved in its entirety,

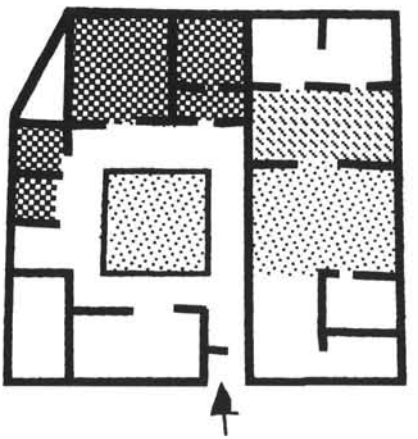


Figure 6.9 Eretria, House of the Mosaics. *Source* Adapted from Ducrey and Metzger 1979, fig. 2

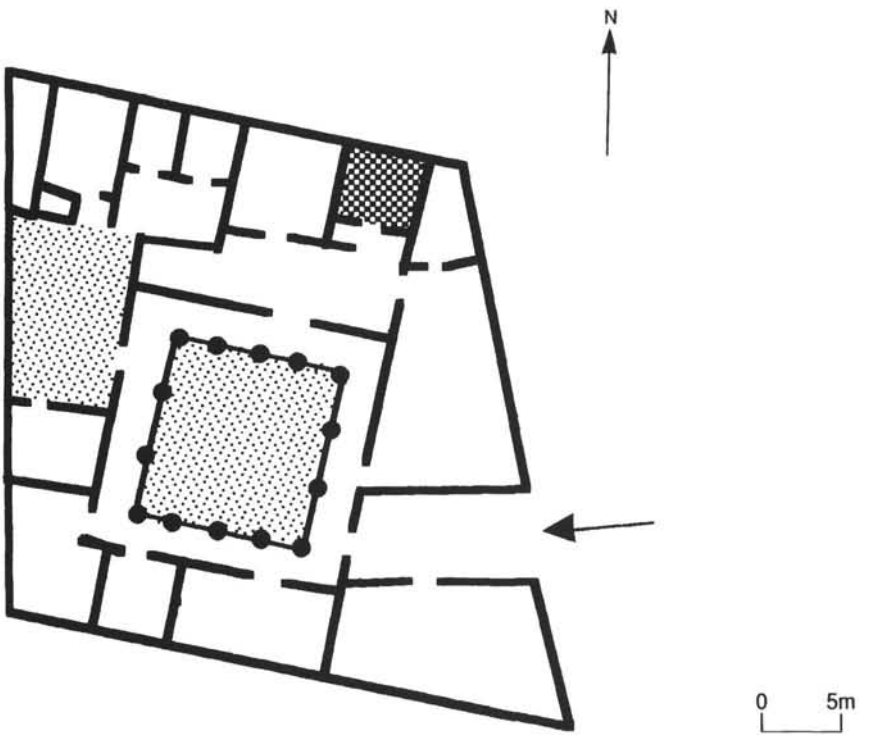


Figure 6.10 Eretria, house 2. *Source* Adapted from Auberson and Schefold 1973, fig. 16

enough remains to indicate that at least some of the characteristics identified above as characteristic of the single entrance, courtyard house are present. A flagged court at the south is surrounded to north, east and west by rooms, with the largest amount of accommodation to the north, where the rooms are on a larger scale and are entered via a *pastas*.

Further examples from the same site are of a much more luxurious character (Makaronas and Giouri 1989). Although the settlement is organised on an orthogonal plan, each *insula* contains only a small number

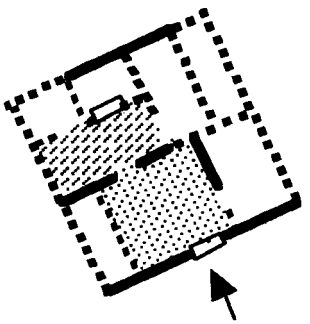


Figure 6.11 Halos, house A. *Source* Adapted from Reinders 1988, fig. 71

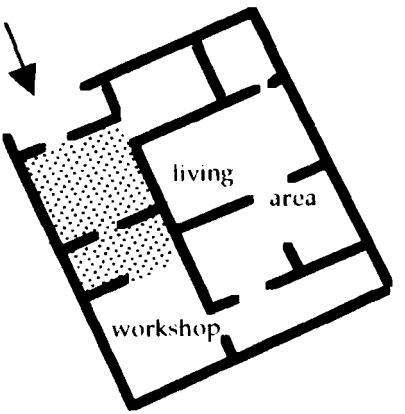


Figure 6.12 Halos, House of the Coroplast. *Source* Adapted from Reinders 1988, fig. 74

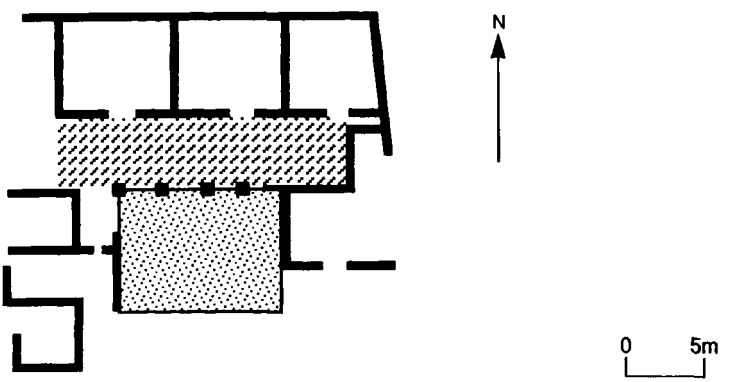


Figure 6.13 Pella, house B. Partially preserved: location of entrance and limits of house to east, south and west unknown. *Source* Adapted from Oikonomos 1915, facing p. 244

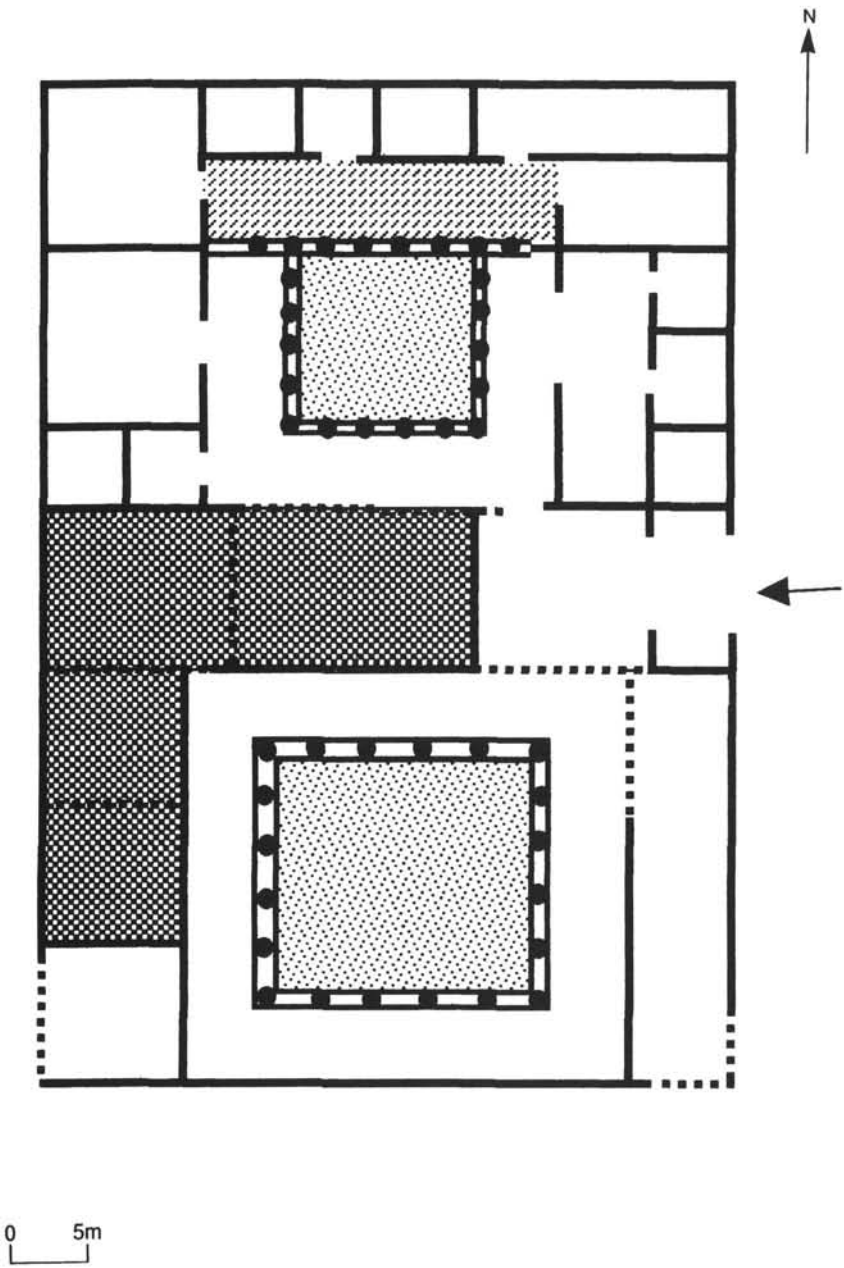


Figure 6.14 Pella, House of Dionysus: entrances to many rooms unclear. *Source* Adapted from Makaronas and Giouri 1989, fig. 142

of houses. The areas of these are variable but some of them are of an order of magnitude larger than any discussed so far. Our most detailed information relates to the house of Dionysus, which is organised around two peristyles giving on to a variety of rooms, many richly decorated with mosaic floors.

This structure is important to mention because it attests a level of wealth and display not visible at any of the sites discussed above. It covers a large amount of ground and provides extensive facilities for entertainment. This lavishness when compared with other contemporary houses gives a clear indication of differentiation in wealth showing up in domestic assemblages.

Variability in spatial organisation in mainland houses

The single entrance, courtyard model is generally valid for the majority of the houses discussed above, regardless of architectural details such as differences in the design of the covered portico in the court (the *prostas/pastas* distinction, which has sometimes been used as the basis for a classification of house designs, summarised by Hoepfner and Schwandner [1986: 268–70]). There are, however, two distinct variations on this pattern. At Kassope, the court is reduced in size and its role in terms of communication around the house is also less important. This is accompanied by a marked separation between the majority of the rooms of the house, and the *andron* and one other room (of indeterminate function).

A second variation, which is more widespread, is the presence of some houses with two courts rather than one. This development seems to be associated with an expansion of facilities for entertaining, since a number of different decorated rooms lead off one court, while the plainer, household rooms centre on a second. Unsurprisingly, this pattern of organisation is often accompanied by an increase in size, which in instances such as the house of Dionysus at Pella took a dramatic form. In houses constructed on this plan, the single entrance, courtyard pattern of organisation is maintained but space is additionally segmented, producing an enhanced differentiation between the household and entertaining areas. In this respect the outcome is similar to the effect produced by the (so far) unique plan of the houses at Kassope.

SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY

A useful guide to regional variability is offered if one considers the world of Sicily and southern Italy. In these two areas the evidence of houses from the Greek settlements is admittedly less extensive than that available from the Greek mainland but the comparative analysis still offers valuable insights into the parallel world of the western Greeks.

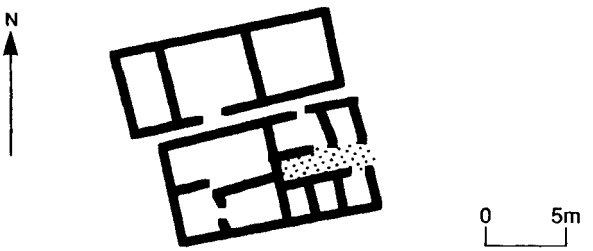


Figure 6.15 Himera, *insula* II, block I, house 1: entrances to some rooms unclear. *Source* Adapted from Allegro *et al.* 1976, plate XIII

Himera (fig. 6.15)

As far as the fifth century is concerned, this city, on the north coast of Sicily, provides our most extensive source of evidence (Allegro *et al.* 1976). Details of the organisation of space at the site are less clear than is the case with Olynthos, although the layout seems to have been somewhat irregular and the street entrance is often unclear. A court can sometimes be distinguished, although its role in the total organisation of the house frequently cannot be established. Although some specialised spaces, such as courts, can be identified, the archaeological record is difficult to interpret and the houses seem to have been somewhat irregular in organisation (Nevett 1992: 112–14). Some of the most characteristic features of the mainland houses, such as specialised facilities for the entertainment of guests and the portico beside the court, are lacking. Contrasts between the structures at the two sites are attributed by the excavators to the slightly earlier date of the Himera houses (Belvedere 1976: 594) and it also seems likely that such differences signify underlying dissimilarities in social relations between the inhabitants of Himera and the occupants of the mainland Greek sites discussed above.

Akragas (fig. 6.16)

Early fourth-century housing which would provide continuity with the material from Himera is lacking, but houses from the mid-fourth century seem more similar in their pattern of spatial organisation to the houses from Greece itself. In two houses from Akragas (modern Agrigento) (Miro 1979) a single street door leads into the court. From here the main block of rooms is entered in one case via a long room or colonnade similar to those found, for example, at Thasos, in *insula* II. There are no obvious signs of an *andron*-type room, or of any attempt to restrict the view offered of the interior of the house from the street door, and evidence is currently lacking as to whether this indicates that the houses

should be compared with the smaller, less lavish structures of Olynthos and Athens or whether there were still underlying differences between western Greek and mainland houses.

Locri Epizefiri (fig. 6.17)

At Locri Epizefiri (Barra Bagnasco 1989a; 1989b) a group of third-century houses are similar to the smaller houses at Olynthos and Athens. Although preservation is poor, they seem to have had the characteristic small southern court, with a single street door and a main range of rooms to the north. There is no evidence of a decorated *andron* and no sign of any attempt to restrict sight-lines into the house from the street.

Megara Hyblaia (figs 6.18 and 6.19)

Eight partially or completely excavated third-century houses from Megara Hyblaia (Vallet, Villard and Auberson 1983) are of a similar date to the houses from Locri Epizefiri. They vary considerably in size, from houses with a single court and a few rooms up to those with two courtyards and many rooms. In the larger examples there was a portico on at least one side of the house, comparable to the Olynthian *pastas*. Functions for various rooms are suggested by different flooring materials, including the decorative *opus signinum*. In the smaller houses this occurs only once but in the larger examples it is present in several rooms. As at Eretria, these decorated rooms are sometimes clustered around their own court, separate from the undecorated apartments.

Monte Iato (fig. 6.20)

A final example to mention is the excavated house from Monte Iato and although this may be of a relatively late date,[4] it is worth noticing because of the excellent state of preservation. As with Ammotopos, the walls stand to such a height that it is possible to comment not only on the positions of the doors but also on the windows. The house is built around two courts and the only apparent windows open onto the excavated court, rather than to the outside, implying a concern for the isolation of the household from the outside world similar to that suggested above in the context of the Greek mainland.

Variability in the spatial organisation of western Greek houses

Although fewer western Greek sites are available for study than are available from the Greek mainland, it seems that possibly by the mid-fourth century and at least by the early third century western Greek houses were organised

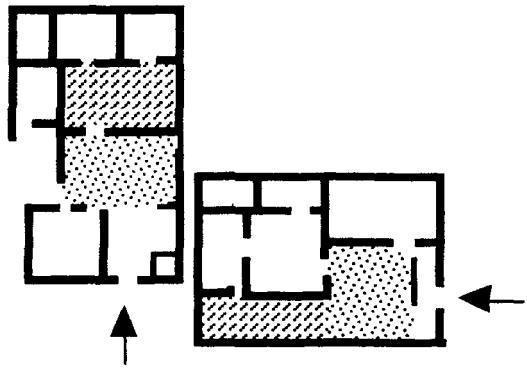


Figure 6.16 Akragas, area between the temple of Zeus and the Sanctuary of the Chthonian deities – western area of western house not preserved. Note: functions of rooms suggested by present author on architectural grounds. *Source* After Miro *et al.* 1979, fig. 6

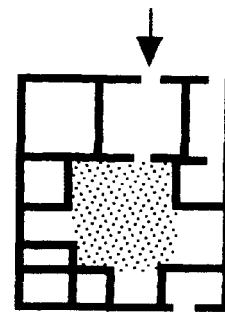
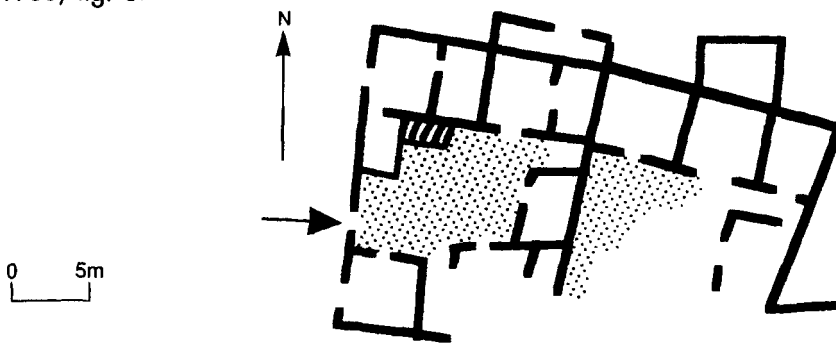


Figure 6.17 Locri Epizefiri, house C. *Source* Adapted from Barra-Bagnasco ed. 1989b, plate I

Figure 6.18 Megara Hyblaia, houses 30,11 and 39,3. Southern boundary walls not preserved. *Source* Adapted from Vallet *et al.* 1983, fig. 57



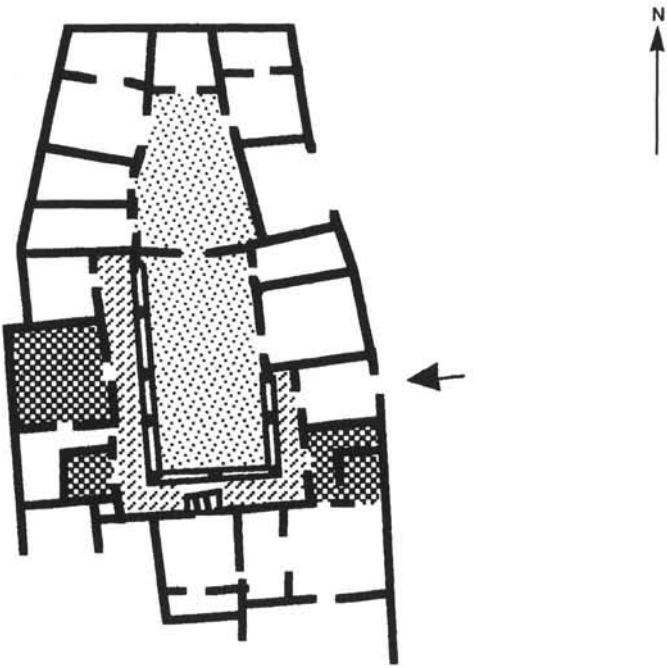


Figure 6.19 Megara Hyblaia, house 49,19. Southern boundary walls not preserved. *Source* Adapted from Vallet *et al.* 1983, fig. 34

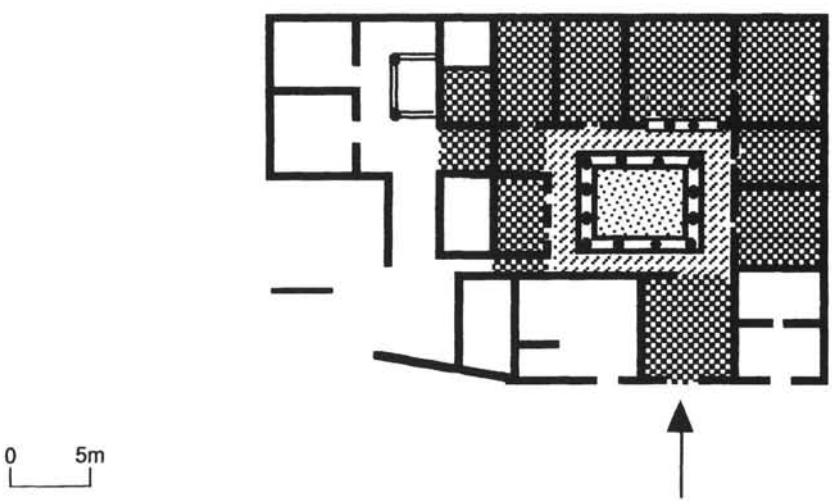


Figure 6.20 Monte Iato, house 11. Western area still undergoing excavation when plan drawn. *Source* Adapted from Isler 1992, fig. 3

in a similar manner to their mainland counterparts. This parallel is all the more striking because the same developments take place through time in the organisation of space, with a dramatic increase in the size and elaboration of some structures and the appearance of double courtyard houses, featuring a variety of different decorated rooms.

CONCLUSIONS

The amount of archaeological data and the available detail varies substantially from area to area and period to period and there are some regions for which no published evidence is currently available. Nevertheless, on the basis of the material examined here, a consistent pattern of domestic spatial organisation can be identified, which may be modified or replaced as more information comes to light. A number of characteristic elements of household construction recur both on the Greek mainland and in the western colonial settlements: broadly, these include the use of a single street entrance, a dominant role for the court in communications around the house and the restriction of sight-lines. Taken together, such measures suggest the regulation of social relations between the house and the outside world and between individuals within the domestic context. The appearance of some houses with an increased ground area, more elaborate decoration and two courts, may be linked with broader social and economic changes. On occasion these seem to have led to the house taking on an increased significance as a location for entertaining and as a vehicle for personal display.

The wide geographical distribution of this pattern of domestic organisation should have implications for our understanding of the similarities and contradictions inherent in the Greek world: during a period for which there is no single answer to the question of what it may have meant to be 'Greek' (Finley 1975a; Cartledge 1993: esp. 3–4), this sketch of domestic organisation highlights one strand amongst the many ties which linked these politically diverse communities and perhaps throws some light on the shared Greek customs which are mentioned by Herodotus (*Histories* 8.144).

NOTES

1 I should like to thank Nigel Spencer for asking me to contribute this chapter, for his patience in awaiting the result, and for his advice on improving the text. The material presented here represents a summary of some of the material included in my doctoral thesis (Nevett 1992), and I would like to express my gratitude to Professor L. Turnbull and the staff at the University Museums of the University of Mississippi for allowing me access to the excavation notebooks from Olynthos, and for facilitating my work on the material. I am also grateful to Bradley Ault for sharing with me results from his analysis of the material from Halieis for his doctoral dissertation (Ault 1994). In addition,

I would like to thank Dr J. Coulton for suggesting some of the terminology I have used. Although I obviously bear full responsibility for the arguments presented here, I would like to thank the following for discussing my ideas with me, and helping me to develop and improve them: Dr Bradley Ault, Dr J. Coulton, Dr Lin Foxhall, Dr Robin Osborne, Professor Anthony Snodgrass and Dr S. Walker. Above all, Todd Whitelaw has listened patiently and helped me to put my thoughts in order. My research on this material was funded by the British Academy, the Allen Fund of the University of Cambridge, the Society of Antiquaries, the British School at Athens and the British School at Rome.

2 Examples of the many works in which this assumption is used, either explicitly or implicitly, include Bourdieu 1979; Rapoport 1982; Kent 1990; Hodder 1990.

3 To judge by the coins found during excavation (Oikonomos 1914: 140) the house seems to be of third-century date.

4 Preliminary reports are included in *Antike Kunst*, between 1981 and 1990 (references given in Isler 1992). The house seems to have been in use over an extended period, beginning in the third or second century BC (Isler 1992: 58; Wilson 1990: 76).

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEAD WOMEN'S SOCIETY

Constructing female gender in Classical Athenian funerary sculpture[1]

KAREN STEARS

Abstract: The chapter examines the figures of women on the sculpted funerary monuments from Classical Athens. It evaluates the images as situated within a wide social context, targeting ideologies they manifest and demonstrates how these artefacts may be indicative of structures concerning gender, status and age.

INTRODUCTION

Stone monuments decorated with sculpted figurative scenes were erected on graves in the classical *polis* of Athens, which together with its territory was also known as Attika (in this chapter I use the two names interchangeably) in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. These monuments have for many years been the focus of much study both as 'works of art', with emphasis on sculptural style and relative chronology and, more recently, as objects of material culture suitable for a more sociological line of investigation (Conze 1893–1922; Diepolder 1931; Himmelmann-Wildschutz 1956; Schmaltz 1970; 1979; 1983; Stupperich 1977; Clairmont 1970; 1983; Humphreys 1980; Nielsen *et al.* 1989; I. Morris 1992; 1994). This investigation presents a further example of the possible employment of the classical Attic funerary memorials in the realm of Athenian social history, notably the cultural construction of aspects of female gender.

Women's history is an established, if still marginalised, area of research in Classical studies; yet within the field there is still a discernible emphasis toward literary sources rather than archaeological and art historical evidence. To some extent this reflects the firmly embedded divisions of the world of Classical scholarship in which Classical archaeology has,

until recently, stood separated from the disciplines of Classical philology and ancient history (see the Introduction to this volume). In the early years of women's history, Greek studies have been largely the domain of the social historian and the literary scholar. The neglect of material culture by scholars interested in ancient gender structures highlights its under-valuation, in comparison with literary sources, by many classicists; archaeological artefacts and sites may be viewed as mere 'illustrations' and as being secondary in value to texts rather than as signifying in their own right. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this provocative generalisation (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Lissarague 1990; Hoffmann 1988; Keuls 1985). Yet objects of material culture are of especial value in evaluating female gender constructs since Greek texts are notoriously male-bound in both production and consumption; fictional female figures may dominate certain dramatic and poetic genres but 'real' women are less easy to locate in historical, political and legal discourse. Images of females abound in Greek art, however, both ceramic and sculptural. There is no denying that these images are likely to have been produced by male craftsmen and perhaps bought largely by male consumers and this is a problem which should be addressed when dealing with the objects; but the sheer quantity of these representations (in comparison with the absence of women in certain forms of literary discourse) is in itself a matter for investigation.

The methodological basis of this study is largely dependent on the theories expounded by, amongst others, the Marxist art historians Hadjinicolaou (1978) and Wolff (1981). They have conceptualised material culture as being able to 'signify'[2] within society and as being an element of social structure. This approach meshes nicely with the theory of the sociologist Giddens (1979; 1989) in which material culture is subject to the forces of his notion of structuration. According to this theory, society constantly reinvents itself through time by the means of the very artefacts and ideologies which it produces and of which it is constituted. Although the artist's or craftsperson's own talent and imagination may enable him or her to express ideas in an individualistic manner, such people are themselves social actors and therefore open to the constraint and influence of dominant ideologies (and indeed perhaps subversive ones), as is any other member of the society, including their patron. One may expect, therefore, to find elements of these ideologies reflected in their work, a situation which makes material culture witness to ideological constructs and potentially active in both re-enforcing and re-inventing these ideologies. Artefacts may be linked with ideologies concerning, for instance, the cultural construction of gender, or status and power relationships, in which gender is often a factor. Consequently material culture should not be regarded as merely a passive carrier of information about a society nor indeed as always representing, in some unproblematic mirror-like fashion, 'reality'.

This approach is of special use to the archaeologist when a particular object is an extremely common find and when it belongs to a series exhibiting a limited iconographic repertoire; such objects would appear to illustrate continual reiteration of a socially dominant ideology. The classical Athenian grave reliefs exhibit a high level of repetitive standard iconography and may be regarded as being well suited to such an ideological analysis.

As has been suggested, since works of art (as components of material culture) are capable of signifying within society, it then follows that they can be regarded as a form of code or language which may be deciphered or read. There are, however, a number of problems involved in this process. Initially one should resituate the artefact as far as possible in its contemporary social and iconographic context. But there is always the likelihood that many iconographic features may have signified to their original audience a range of meanings that are hidden from the modern scholar. At the very least, the conclusions of the modern scholar may be unprovable, if temptingly probable. Secondly, one should be aware that many ideological aspects may not have been explicit in the original social context (it is in the nature of the functioning of dominant ideologies that they are usually implicit). This may lead to a number of hypotheses which are probable but ultimately unprovable. Lastly, one might note that not all images may signify ideologically to the same degree. For instance, an image of an adult man might provide information about gender construction, ideas about age categorisation, concepts concerning status or class, or the relationship of the individual to the larger social group. An image of a child, however, might signify less, because the child had a less complex social persona than the adult and enjoyed fewer status relationships.

Objects of material culture may signify in myriad ways, varying through context, time, usage and the conceptions of the onlooker or user. Athenian grave monuments were, for instance, objects of cult as well as a means of marking and recording a burial spot. The present discussion concentrates on some of the more sociological aspects of their polyvalency. However, the ritual nature of the monuments cannot be cleanly divorced from the social, indeed it partly constitutes it; if these memorials are to be understood in any constructive sense then their total context within the cemetery must always be remembered.

I begin this discussion by looking at a popular book on Athenian social and women's history, Eva Keuls' marvellously titled *The Reign of the Phallus*. In chapter 5, 'Brides of Death', reference is made to a number of grave reliefs, including the stele of Ampharete (fig. 7.1), discovered and now on display in the Kerameikos (the chief Athenian cemetery which lay at the beginning of the Sacred Way to Eleusis). Keuls' caption to the illustration runs thus: 'Mother and child on a fifth-century tomb *stele*', which is, in fact, incorrect. The epitaph on the stone tells us that

Figure 7.1 Stele of Ampharete (Athens, Kerameikos Museum). *Source* DAI, Athens (Neg. Nr KER 2620)

Ampharete is in fact holding her daughter's child, who is also dead; it is grandmother and grandchild.

This error highlights a number of points for discussion, most notably the specific problems of the relation between inscription and image on funerary monuments. However it also reflects the problems of age and status categorisation, elements of gender construction, the problem of classical idealism and finally (more generally) the use of beautiful artefacts, or 'works of art', as illustrations by historians. It is topics such as these which the present chapter aims to address.

THE MONUMENTS

Types

The classical Athenian gravestone carrying figurative sculpture first appeared in the mid-fifth century. The date and reason for the introduction is hotly disputed for a number of reasons (Schmaltz 1983; Clairmont 1986; Stears 1993; I. Morris 1994) but I place their introduction to ca. 450 BC and associate it with the influx of non-Athenian Greek craftsmen into the city to work on the Periklean building programme and the passing of the Periklean citizenship law of 451/50 BC which for the first time explicitly demanded that the mother of an Athenian citizen should be of citizen status herself (C. Patterson 1981; Stears 1993; Boegehold 1994). From their first appearance, Classical Attic funerary monuments were quite distinct from their Archaic predecessors, whose production had ceased ca. 480 BC. In contrast to the aristocratic and male ethos of the Archaic monuments, Classical monuments from the very start were also concerned with depicting the female and domestic sphere, with women shown in numbers as yet unknown from the Archaic period.[3]

A count of the monuments published in Conze, the standard catalogue of Classical Attic sculpted funerary monuments and about as random a sample as one can obtain (although the catalogue admittedly is biased towards the city and Piraeus areas at the expense of the countryside districts), reveals a near equality in the number of monuments displaying adult males and females: 176 for women alone, 168 for men alone, 252 for both sexes. This relatively high profile of women in Athenian funerary iconography persisted throughout the course of the gravestone series until the sumptuary legislation enacted by Demetrios of Phaleron in 317/16–307/06 BC effectively curtailed the sculpted Attic funerary monument and replaced it, predominantly with the ubiquitous Hellenistic *kioniskos* or small column (Twele 1975; Garland 1982; Stears 1993).

There was a variety of types of Classical Athenian monument: the upright stone slab or *stele* and its variations; the smaller and probably cheaper representational slab or *Bildfeldstele* (Scholl forthcoming); the tall rosette or *anthemion stele*, carrying inscriptions and usually decorated with carved rosettes and/or a vegetative finial; and the *naiskos*, a monument taking the form of a small shrine with pediment and/or entablature and pilasters, which increased in size and relief depth in the later fourth century until some figures were carved almost in the round and occasionally over life-size. There were also two stone versions of clay pots, the *lekythos*, an oil jug used in funerary ritual (Schmaltz 1970) and the *loutrophoros*, a vessel used for carrying water from the spring Kallirhoe to wash the bride before her wedding. We are told by the Byzantine lexicographers that the stone version of the shape was thought to be a fitting monument for the grave of one who had died unmarried (Kokula

1984; Prukakis-Christodulopulos 1970; Boardman 1988; Himmelmann-Wildschutz 1988).

Social implications

Archaeological evidence from the fourth century suggests that some families liked to bury members together in walled areas called *periboloi* (Garland 1982; Stears 1993). These familial assemblages appear usually not to have lasted for more than three generations before they were abandoned and fresh *periboloi* established. This has implications for the social construction of the family through time (Humphreys 1980; Stears 1993; Foxhall in this volume). Familial groupings might include a variety of monument forms. At the centre of a family enclosure stood usually an imposingly tall rosette or *anthemion stele*. This recorded the chief members of the familial descent group, usually men (Schmaltz 1979). Although women were depicted in funerary monument images as frequently as men, they were not recorded in inscriptions as often. When Sally Humphreys (1980: 111) made a count from the *Inscriptiones Graecae* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* volumes she discovered that there is a disparity in the recording of male and female names in funerary inscriptions. Some 88 monuments record a male and female couple, whereas in the single inscriptions there are 234 male examples as opposed to 102 female names. The implications of her observations are considered below.

The cemetery was the arena for the public display of the descent line of the family, a patrilineal grouping in which women played a largely secondary role with emphasis on the diachronic and agnatic affiliations, the *oikos* and perhaps the *genos*[4] (Littman 1990; Lacey 1968; Bourriot 1976). Women may therefore only feature on such monuments for specific reasons: they may have been of especial influence because of the status of their male relatives or they might have come to play a matriarchal role in a family group, particularly if they were long-lived or held a priesthood in their own right. Generally though, females had little share in the construction of the public face of the agnatic kin-grouping within the *polis* and therefore in the written word in the cemetery. However, women were important for the construction and cohesion of the cognatic kin-group the *anchisteia*, a limited bilateral grouping centred on an individual, through which ran the line of inheritance. The *anchisteia* enjoyed a less visible public status most of the time than did the *oikos* or *genos* but emerged with profound importance in death-ritual and inheritance. Women may therefore have warranted a permanent funerary memorial as members of this cognatic kin-group; yet this did not warrant their inclusion in the explicit record of the agnatic and more *political* kin-groups. This would account for the disparity between the appearances of women in the epigraphic record and in the visual image.

It would appear that a figurative memorial was regarded as an equally fitting monument for women as it was for men but that women's further mention as constructors of the central 'family-tree' of the kin-group displayed through inscription was generally felt to be unnecessary (Schmaltz 1979: 213). Furthermore, if a woman was mentioned, it may have been that less detail was included in her inscription than in that of a man. Theophrastos, in his description of the 'officious' character (*Characters* 13), states that this sort of man will write on a tombstone not only the name of a woman but also the names of her husband, parents and her birth-place. Anecdotal it may be but the intimation is that her name alone will suffice. We might note here the paucity of matronymics in Attic funerary inscriptions and the lack of the female demotic (Daux 1978: 605). Women had no political or civic identity in their own right; they therefore had little claim to inclusion on a monument recording and constructing the public or political face of the family group.

Women's tombs were important to the familial group in terms of claiming inheritance and demonstrating or countering refutations of one's legitimacy (e.g. Isaeus *Orationes* 6.64; Aeschylus *Fals. Leg.* 23.1). This would especially be the case following the stipulations of the Periklean citizenship law and its re-enactment at the close of the fifth century. This law might not only, to some extent, account for the reappearance of sculpted monuments from the mid-fifth century on but might also help explain the new prominence of women in the memorial iconography (Stears 1993). However, these images of women were, I would maintain, largely peripheral to the public record and construction of the family group. One might compare women's general lack of appearance on shaft *stelai* inscriptions to their silence in forensic oratory. When the family is on display within certain areas of the public world, then women are characterised by their silence. Yet this silence is not a whole and true reflection of the family group, kin-based networks and indeed, the status of women. It reflects rather a bias in some areas of the epigraphic and literary evidence. Thus when one analyses familial networks in forensic oratory one sees that women are integral to their functioning but that wherever possible they are not brought into the glare of the public and male world (Foxhall forthcoming). Similarly, when one looks beyond the shaft *stele* in the centre of the family burial group, we find that women are portrayed as much as men, a position which may be a truer reflection of their role within the family than the evidence from the rosette or *anthemion stelai* would indicate. Within the *peribolos*, the two faces of the nuclear kin-group, one public, one private, are displayed and indeed partly constructed. The rosette or *anthemion stele* displays the important agnatic affiliations for the male-oriented public sphere; the total assemblage, the kin-group's construction of its own memory, history and identity, in whatever terms it conceived itself. Yet it is also a private

record available for public inspection should the need arise (see the pseudo-Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* 55.3 for the political importance of familial tombs).

Part of this familial construction rested on ritual, most notably the correct performance of funerary cult, not only to ensure the smooth passage of the soul of the deceased to Hades but also to ensure the smooth transition of the deceased's property into the hands of those financing and performing the funerary rites. It was the task of women to oversee and perform this ritual. They are commonly shown visiting tombs on vase paintings and their association with lamenting the dead is a major theme in Athenian tragedy (Alexiou 1974; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Kurtz 1984; Loraux 1990). Although they are rarely shown explicitly grieving at the graveside, women's presence in stone on funerary monuments may be considered an echo of their cultic activities within the cemetery and their ritual importance within the household. Concomitantly, in Greek thought, the household excepted, cemeteries may be considered the ultimate woman's place; situated on the edges of settlements, cemeteries are liminal, chthonic, dangerous and ritually unclean (Douglas 1966; Parker 1983; Gould 1980; Stears 1993; Stears forthcoming). The Athenian construction of female gender drew heavily on ideologies in which women were associated with and located in these concepts.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WOMEN

Monument type

Loutrophoroi, as mentioned above, appear to have been erected on the graves of those who had died unmarried. Kokula has shown that there was a distinction in usage between the two- and three-handled forms of the vessel, with the former used for men, the latter being reserved for women.[5] Certainly there appears to be a disparity in the relative numbers of extant *loutrophoroi* for men and women; five-sixths of the total erected for men and only one-sixth for women (Schmaltz 1979, Kokula 1984: 144 and n. 3). Furthermore, there was a tendency in the course of the fourth century to portray bearded men on *loutrophoroi*, beards being the iconographic means by which full male adulthood was suggested (Schmaltz 1970: 102–5; 1979: 27–9; Dehl 1981: 177). Building on these observations, Schmaltz (1979) has argued that *loutrophoroi* of both forms marked the graves of those who died unmarried but who were past the first flush of youth. There is no such obvious criterion, equating with the beard, for hinting at the age of women,[6] though the paucity of three-handled *loutrophoroi* may be indicative of the fact that the vessels were employed to mark the resting places of mature spinsters (Schmaltz 1979: 27; Kokula 1984: 145).

It was the experience of most Athenian women to be married at a relatively early age in comparison with our own social practice. It was apparently the norm for most girls to have married after the onset of menstruation (Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 7.5; Aristotle *Politics* 1335A; Hesiod *Works and Days* 695–705; Garland 1990: 210). Therefore, if *loutrophoroi* did mark the graves of men and women who had both died at the onset of or during middle age (and in terms of Athenian society that may be women only past their early twenties) then, considering Athenian marriage patterns for men and women, we might expect proportionately fewer women of, say, twenty-five years of age to die as spinsters than men of the same age as bachelors (Garland 1990: 211). A man might delay marriage with some level of social impunity since he could become a husband and father at any stage in his life, whereas any year past the onset of menstruation spent unmarried by a woman might be regarded as a year of limited potential motherhood lost.

It would appear that both men and women who died unmarried in the first flush of youth were commemorated by finer, larger and presumably more expensive memorials (Schmaltz 1979: 23ff.). Both young men and women were often depicted alone on these monuments in the iconographic tradition of the Archaic Attic memorials. The death of one who had still the potential of a fulfilled citizen life, i.e. continuing the familial line or fighting for the state, was perhaps more of a loss to society and the family than was an aged spinster or bachelor who had perhaps wasted or passed opportunities in life. The loss of a teenage daughter or son in her or his mid-to-late teens or early twenties might perhaps warrant larger and finer memorials than would the loss of an older unmarried person. This could be especially true among those wealthy families who could afford to erect such monuments, for teenagers in such families may have had especial value. Young women, for instance, might have been the promise of increased standing or wealth by means of a favourable marital alliance. The importance to the familial group of the loss of one of its younger members might account for the ideologies which arose concerning the *kalos thanatos* ('beautiful death') and the *mors immatura* ('immature/untimely death') reflected in both the iconography and the epitaphs of funerary monuments (Loraux 1981; Vedder 1988; Lohmann 1992).

The question of idealism

The notion of the 'ideal' or 'beautiful' death in Greek thought leads one tangentially to the idealism of form in the depiction of the human figure in the funerary monuments. This tendency towards idealism in Classical Athenian art, as expressed on the funerary monuments (amongst other sculptural forms) lends the period a special appeal for a consideration of ideologies. The style encourages one to examine the generic and the lack of 'individualism' witnessed in Athenian art. There are moves toward

realism in fourth-century funerary monuments but these too may be regarded as attempts to show generic character types, such as the lamenting old woman, or grief-struck old man, rather than realistically portrayed individuals; they are, in a sense, a development of idealism.

The idealistic nature of Classical Athenian art was recognised in antiquity (Aristotle *Poetics* 1454B, written between ca. 360 BC and 320 BC). Modern scholars have made numerous attempts to account for and interpret the style (Webster 1956; Ashmole 1964; Onians 1979; Pollitt 1985). I do not intend to discuss the trait in any depth but will make a limited number of observations.

The sculptor working in Classical Athens made a conscious decision to express the ideal in his work. This was not a result of any artistic inability but developed from the earlier severe style and was regarded as suitable for the sculptural genre. The concept of portraiture in some artistic genres appears to have been known; an aside in Aristophanes' *Knights* (230–3) intimates that theatrical masks, at least, were quite capable of portraying individual characteristics (see Pollitt 1985: 108–9; Dover 1987). The idealism of the period's sculptural style may reflect an attempt to portray not character but, rather, an expression of accepted cultural values, such as *arete* ('excellence') and *sophrosyne* ('moderation'), which were regarded as integral to the proper construction of ordered character. The emphasis on these moral qualities in the Classical funerary epigrams would appear to support this argument, for these are both generic (and possibly idealised) and also often strikingly lacking in individual detail.[7] None the less, we should not assume that the idealism of the image and epigram would hinder the contemporary Athenian's belief of figures on funerary monuments as representing deceased individuals (e.g. *IG II*^{2} 6971). Furthermore we might allow the possibility that painted details, now lost, added a degree of verisimilitude.

Although idealism of form is a trait of fifth- and fourth-century Attic sculpture in general, the style may have had particular import for funerary art. If the dead were considered somehow to be better and mightier than the living (Aristotle *Eudemos* in Plutarch *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 27) then this might be signified by their perfection in sculptural form. This suggestion, however, raises the age-old question of the 'correct' interpretation of scenes on funerary monuments; are all those represented dead and where is the scene located, are we in Hades? Any catch-all hypothesis is ultimately unprovable and always susceptible to exception.

Age categorisation

Attempts to portray realistic age characteristics on the Classical monuments begin in the fourth century. Within the fifth century, age as a mark of individualism is generally subsumed by the generic; children especially fare badly, being depicted as miniature adults. In the following century an

increasing interest in artistic realism is witnessed by a number of *stelai* which show older women and men (Meyer 1989; Pfisterer-Haas 1990) and by more successful forays in catching the essence of the young child.

A small number of funerary monuments refer to the age of the deceased within the epitaph, usually in cases of premature death or extreme longevity (Clairmont 1979: nos 56, 58, 72 and 73). More usually reference is made to death in 'old age' or 'youth' (*ibid.*: nos 60 and 64). Age is never given as additional information under a simple inscription of name, patronymic and demotic. In comparing the portrayal of the deceased in the few extant reliefs which are accompanied by epitaphs which specify age, of immediate note is that, for instance, an individual described in an accompanying inscription as a nonagenarian may from his image be taken for any man of middle to old age. This has implications for the production of monuments. The less explicitly individual monument could be made in advance, stored and sold to a variety of consumers. Obvious reference to individualising detail would imply that a particular monument was made specifically to order.[8] Generally however, the tendency toward the ideal or the generic leads to the appearance of roughly definable age-groupings and these may be indicative of social attitudes concerning age and status.

Approximate age-grouping may be indicated by a number of simple devices, including attributes, hairstyles, clothing and to some extent bodily posture. Children are shown with toys, girls usually with dolls, boys with balls or carts (Dörig 1958; Kastriotis 1909; Conze 1893–1922: nos 814, 816, 817, 818, 823, 827, 829, 836) and both sexes with pets such as dogs, birds and ducks (Conze *ibid.*: nos 100, 283, 362, 463, 816, 822, 825, 830, 832, 833, 838, 839, 841, 888); girls may have long hair (as on the stele of Mynnia JPGMus. 71AA121), top-knots, ponytails (Diepolder 1931: pl. 5; Richter 1954: fig. 1) and diadems (Möbius 1966; Papaoikonomou 1977) and do not usually wear woollen cloaks (*himatia*). Their costumes may be girdled or they may wear cross-bands over their flat chests; they generally stand. Adolescent girls, perhaps unmarried, also usually stand and may also hold mirrors or wear jewellery; they may have long, flowing hair or top-knots and, although they wear the dress of an adult woman, they often appear to wear it in a more open, less restrictive way, often left open down the side (Schmaltz 1979: 26–7). Adult women may stand or sit, wear hair ornaments and jewellery (A.H. Smith 1894: pl. 11; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1988: pl. 38), they may have their hair rolled into a wedge around the nape of the neck and ears and usually wear a *chiton*, a fine dress and the heavier *himation*. The *stele* of Hegeso (fig. 7.2) is perhaps the best and most famous example of all of these attributes, especially the complex sprung hair-net. Women may be veiled, although the face is not covered, and very often may clasp the edge of their veil or *himation*. This gesture (the subject of much study; cf. Charitonidis 1962; Karusos 1969; M.L. Säflund 1970; Thickpenny 1980: 103; Oakley 1982; Oakley and Sinos 1993; Kalogeropoulou 1974;

Schlörb-Vierneisel 1988) may well be a reference to the *anakalypteria*, the ritual unveiling of the bride at weddings. It may be employed in funerary art to refer to women who had been through the marriage ceremony, or more confusingly for the modern scholar, also for girls who died before their wedding, the so-called brides of Hades referred to in epitaphs. In a general sense the motif may imply the modesty befitting the ideal Athenian female, since iconographically it functions in two ways: it implies both the covering and the revealing of the face and therefore may signify a restrained and properly modest character; it is the iconographic equivalent of an epigraphic reference to *sophrosyne*. Women may also be accompanied by attributes such as a baby or child (Conze 1893–1922: nos 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 290, 361, 409), maid,[9] casket,[10] mirror (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1968: 90–9, pls 33–5; Conze *ibid.*: nos 157, 310, 360, 813), pots (Conze *ibid.*: nos 59, 873a, 873b, 1108, 805, 810, 811), wool-working equipment[11] and occasionally rolls of cloth, the last two objects highlighting her main occupation and economic strength in the household (Kalogeropoulou 1974). Adult women also join in *dexiosis* (i.e. they shake right hands) with other adults of either sex. Older age is depicted by facial wrinkles, often employed to display grief, short wavy hairstyles and the wearing of the *himation* in a particular way, brought up to the nape of the neck or wrapped tightly around the chest. Sometimes the back is rounded, suggesting spinal shrinkage.

It would seem that Athenians were mostly uninterested in recording exact age of death in funerary inscriptions although one assumes, perhaps incorrectly, that *deme* ('township') records would have enabled them to calculate their exact age if familial memory was insufficient. Unsurprisingly, sculptors produced funerary monuments which depicted broad bands of age-groups, advantageous for marketing and probably reflecting social categorisation. In funerary sculpture females appear to have been placed in five age-groupings. Firstly, the swaddled baby; this costume may be indicative of extreme youth. However, to my knowledge, there is no depiction of a naked female baby on a grave relief, whereas naked baby boys are relatively common; their penises act as status-enhancing symbols. Secondly, the little girl, characterised by a small head to body ratio, protruding stomach and dressed and accompanied as described above. The third stage is the young unmarried teenager, the form that is often found on single, fine-quality monuments. The fourth stage is the mature and perhaps married woman, usually seated, her social status intimated by wearing her hair up and by jewellery, the adoption of the *himation*, the veiling gesture and other attributes. The nature of these attributes is indicative not so much of the age of the deceased but of her marital status and duties within the household. The fifth and final stage, which appears only in the fourth century, is that of the noticeably older, wrinkled and hunched woman. She is usually shown not as the deceased herself but as a secondary or background figure exhibiting grief.

Figure 7.2 Stele of Hegeso (Athens, National Museum). *Source* DAI, Athens (Neg. Nr NM 4601)

These iconographic observations suggest that concepts of age-groupings and concomitant status for women in Classical Athens may have been more dependent on social and ritual categories than on biological age. For instance, the transition from the second representation stage to the third may be witness of the fact that the girls were of an age to have participated as 'bears' in the *Arkteia*, a rite of passage at Brauron on the east coast of Attika. Such girls are depicted with a cross-band girdle and generally lack toys and pets, but the evidence for the exact ritual process at the *Arkteia* is notoriously difficult to interpret (Kahil 1977; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988).

For women, the change from childhood to adulthood was synonymous with marriage, which usually occurred at puberty. On marriage a girl would change residence from her natal to her marital *oikos* and would engage in new cultic activities which were centred on her status as a married and sexually active woman. She was likely to oversee her own home and be in charge of spinning and weaving for the household; she may have become mistress in her own right of a body of slaves and was also likely to bear children. Indeed it is motherhood itself which may have set the final seal on her acceptance into the category of full adult female (motherhood may, for instance, have allowed a woman greater social freedom, as is implied by Lysias *1*).

Given this background, the lack of detailed age information in funerary inscriptions can once again be understood. The figurative monument may have imparted more practical information about the life of the deceased than would mere mention of age. The precise age of a girl at death was of very little social import; her social status, however, was of interest. If a fourteen-year-old were married and perhaps even a mother, then an image of her in adult costume and with a maid or baby, was ample indication of her social status and indicated more about her than mention of her age alone could.

The category of the older woman is perhaps less easy to define iconographically. This may reflect the fact that the social category itself was not as precisely defined as were the earlier stages in a woman's life; this may reflect the absence of rites of passage surrounding the menopause or becoming a grandmother or widow. The entry into old age may be regarded as more of a personal category than a social one for women, although it may have had social ramifications. Since a woman might well have been a grandmother by her early thirties then the presence of grandchildren can hardly have indicated extreme old age; and here we return to the stele of Ampharete and her grandchild (fig. 7.1). But for the information contained in the inscription the beautiful adult woman could easily be regarded as the baby's parent; Keuls' error is understandable.

Older women may have enjoyed a greater level of social freedom and movement than their younger sisters. The Solonian funerary legislation allowed women outside the limits of the *anchisteia* to attend the funeral only if they were over the age of sixty. Some poorer old women may therefore have made a living from hiring themselves as professional mourners. An association may therefore have been made with old women and the expression of grief and this may account for the portrayal of the few older women represented on grave reliefs; as noted above, they are background figures who appear to be mourning more openly than is the norm in Athenian funerary sculpture. Conversely, the new trend to artistic realism in the fourth century, albeit somewhat generic, may have enabled the sculptor to use the woman's wrinkled face as a suitable vehicle for the expression of sorrow; the argument is inconclusive.

In conclusion, age-categorisation of women was intimately linked with rites of passage and female sexuality. Its representation was mediated by various iconographic features, symbolising both the ritual status and the accepted social roles of the female at that particular life-stage.

Qualities and occupations

Certain iconographic poses adopted on funerary monuments may have been echoes of famous freestanding statues and may therefore have been imbued with further ideological referents. For instance, a seated woman, relaxing on a *klismos*, an elegant high-backed chair, may have been regarded as an artistic echo either of the famous statue, the Aphrodite in the Gardens, now lost but known to us from literary sources, or indeed the Aphrodite of the Parthenon frieze. The deceased might have been imagined as being as beautiful as the goddess, although it must be said that not all of the goddess's aspects might have been thought fitting for a decorous Athenian woman. Other mythological resonances may have been found in seated spinning women, or those with *kalathoi* (wool baskets), the iconography of which may have intimated the qualities of the Homeric Penelope. Women found seated on thrones might have recalled Demeter although it is more likely, given the funereal context, that an enthroned woman recalled the dutiful Persephone, queen and bride of Hades. Thus a number of poses may have signified certain moral qualities and traits, many of them obscured to the modern observer.

Funerary monuments for adult women portrayed only a limited number of occupations. These were centred on the domestic and were chiefly child-raising, wool-working and interacting with family members and slaves.[12] This restricted iconographic repertoire suggests that the reliefs were not depicting the variety of real-life experience but were reflecting culturally ingrained notions as to the ideal and proper concerns of women within the *oikos* and *polis*. These concepts are likewise reflected in the accompanying funerary epigrams, with their emphasis on the deceased's expression of virtues such as *sophrosyne* (Vérilhac 1985; Dover 1974; North 1966).

On only a small number of monuments for women is there an attempt to show any further detail of occupation. Priestesses may be portrayed holding a temple key or, in one instance, a possible cult-figure (Blümel 1928: Berlin K26, pl. 36; Kerameikos, stele of Polystrate, Schlörb-Vierneisel 1968: 101–3, pl. 36; Athens NM 2309, Conze 1893–1922: no. 812 pl. 155; NM 4485, Clairmont 1979; 1986; Rahn 1986). One relief has a nurse playing with her charge, a young girl; if it were not for the identification in the inscription, however, the scene could well be interpreted as mother and child again (London BM 1909.2-21-1; see Clairmont 1970 no. 25). Information about further female roles outside the household is extremely scarce. Thimme (1967) has suggested that the

name of a woman, Choiros (perhaps best translated as 'cunt'), on a *stele* in Karlsruhe might be indicative of her status as a prostitute; however there is no iconographic hint as to her profession (Thimme 1967: 199–203; cf. Hibler 1993).

The most commonly identified occupation (or status) on grave monuments is that of slave. Female slaves are usually identifiable by their dress and often their diminutive stature, both witnessed on the stele of Hegeso. This may be an indication of youth, which might be further highlighted by the adoption of a high girdle. Slave dress may consist of a sleeved or armless *chiton* and shoes rather than sandals and a plain *sakkos* (headscarf); practical clothes suitable for working. Short hair is also an indication of servile status (and also when adopted by non-slave women a sign of acute grief). Sometimes slaves hold a baby or offer their mistress a casket; occasionally they may hold a flat basket of fillets, reminiscent of the white-ground *lekythoi* mistress and maid scenes (Kurtz 1988). Slave iconography signifies not only their own status but also the relative status of the other figures within the scene. They function iconographically as an attribute; I know of no figurative monument depicting a slave alone although there are examples of simple inscribed *stelai* for slaves buried within a *peribolos* (Garland 1982: A13 = *IG II*^{2} 9347, 10678, 8635, 12755).

Grave-relief iconography would suggest that only a limited number of female occupations and concerns were thought suitable to adorn a funerary monument. This in turn would indicate that it was these same roles that were valued by the dominant ideologies constituting the social system. Their expression in funerary art would serve to underpin and perpetuate the ideologies that condoned them, for this was the arena in which the family wished to construct a cohesive public face, emphasising not only its privilege but also, the repetitive iconography would suggest, its attempt at social conformity, which included the deportment of its female members. Hence the lack of reliefs celebrating trades; it is the ideological ideal of the citizen enjoying leisured wealth which is commemorated not the reality and variety of everyday experience. Those exceptional monuments which do hint at women's concerns (and by implication status) outside those of household duties may be explicable in two ways. Priestesses usually obtained their post through hereditary membership of a *genos*. The kin-group would be likely to emphasise their priestly connection in their tombs, as this was one means by which the family gained public recognition. We know from epigraphic evidence that kin-groups with an inherited priesthood tended to bury together for more generations than did other families; a familial priesthood is not so much an occupation as a status. Similarly monuments for nurses (or slaves) may well have been erected by the family for whom they worked. This may be especially true for widows who, lacking any other family, turned to nursing for financial security.[13] Thus the erection of a monument to a servant or slave is indicative of the wealth of the family that erected the

memorial as much as it marks the grave of a missed 'familial' member. In sum, only those occupations regarded as status-enhancing or as representative of desirable personal qualities appear to have been adopted into funerary iconography.

Desirable death

The equation of marriage with death was one that the Athenians constantly emphasised in both literature and art (Thimme 1967; Jenkins 1983; Kokula 1984: 143–50; Moesch 1988; Seaford 1994). The socially desired goal of a woman's life was marriage and motherhood. When death robbed a girl of this chance she was often considered to have received death in the stead of marriage and Hades as a groom. The theme is often taken up in epitaphs and literature, most famously in the epigram for the Archaic *kore* ('maiden') Phrasikleia (*IG* I^3 1261). The stress laid on the marital status of the deceased both in monument form and in iconography has already been mentioned and one should not be surprised therefore to discover that some iconographic elements might be interpreted as referring either to a betrothal scene (Welsh 1906: pl. 15 might be interpreted as such) or to the wedding itself, notably the *anakalypsis*, the adornment of the bride with jewellery and clothes (most famously the 'Sandalbinder' *stele* Athens, NM 718) and the employment of the *loutrophoros* as a monument form.

There is a small number of monuments which show women fulfilling the second aspect of their life-goal, childbirth. The presence of swaddled babies in reliefs may be perhaps understood as indicating that the mother died in or around childbirth, but it is unclear whether the child itself is living or dead. Conversely, these scenes might merely highlight the fact that the deceased was a mother and may have no reference to her dying in childbirth. Some images, however, leave no room for doubt and show a woman reclining uncomfortably on a couch, surrounded by onlookers. She appears to be in labour as is indicated by the pose of the lower torso and legs (Vedder 1988; 1989).

These scenes would appear to equate with those funerary reliefs which display men in the midst of military action. Both have met with their deaths attempting one of the prime duties for the *polis*. They have therefore achieved the *kalos thanatos* (Loraux 1975; 1981; Vedder 1988). A similar attitude to the male and female *kalos thanatos* may have been prevalent in Sparta, where gravestones may have been allowed only for those men who died in battle or those women who expired in childbirth (Plutarch *Lycurgus* 27, although the text is open to dispute; cf. Cartledge 1981: 95; Kelly 1981: 33). The erection of such monuments would serve to underpin and reconstruct the ideology of the *kalos thanatos* for the city and would thus reinforce normative pressures concerning correct social roles and the attitude to death met therein. It must be admitted

that there are only a few *stelai* which depict women dying in childbirth. This may be attributable to the fact that the scene is largely unsuccessful from an aesthetic viewpoint and also to the essentially private nature of the action as opposed to the death in battle of a soldier. The more common and pleasing scenes of mothers with babies may have served much the same purpose.

Equality and emulation

Before considering wider questions of status, wealth and social imitation, I wish to make further mention of the *dexiosis* motif. As noted earlier, the *dexiosis* or shaking of right hands as a gesture is normally made between adults of either sex. It has been interpreted as a gesture either of farewell or of greeting and the ambiguity of the motif may well account for its popularity. The most recent studies of the motif emphasise that the overriding implication of the gesture is one of unity. The handshake also appears in other contexts in Athenian art, most notably on decree or treaty reliefs and in these cases the union of two equal partners is being signified (the image may have been just as important as the inscription itself in recording the nature of the treaty; see R. Thomas 1989: 49; Herman 1987: 50).

Its use on gravestones in scenes between men and women might have an implication for the status of the woman within the household. In wedding procession scenes on pottery, the groom grasps the bride by the wrist, a symbol of his dominance and of the inequality of the relationship; a ritual rape (Flory 1978, although the author misinterprets *dexiosis* on grave reliefs). On grave reliefs, however, the handshake is a symbol not only of unity and of farewell or greeting but also, I would suggest, of the equality of those involved; hence children do not shake hands (cf. Walker 1985: 48 on the concord/union implied by the *dextrarum iunctio* (handshake) on Roman grave reliefs). The employment of the *dexiosis* motif by women would then signify their equal status with men as members of the household. It is debatable whether this reflects in any way the place of women within the household or is an idealised version of their actual position. Either way it is of note that it is expressed in publicly situated funerary art.

The notion of 'equality' is integral not only to the iconography of the Attic funerary monuments but to their form, quality and size. Social emulation may have been a factor in the evolution of Classical grave monuments and may account for the fact that similar iconography is used on monuments ranging from the large and fine to the plain and poorly produced (for a concise account of the mechanics of social emulation see Miller 1982). Hence the scene on the *naiskos stele* of the 'Grand Farewell', Athens NM 870 (fig. 7.3), is reproduced on a rather scrappy *lekythos* (Athens NM 3486) and also on a larger, but less well executed,

Figure 7.3 Stele of the 'Grand Farewell' (Athens, National Museum). *Source* DAI, Athens (Neg. Nr NM 4667)

naiskos stele in the Piraeus Museum (no. 429). Such imitation from below may have led certain members of the wealthier class to increase the size and ornamentation of their funerary monuments to an extent which was not open to imitation by the poorer elements of society. It also reflects the pervasive nature of the ideology which underscored this rather repetitive iconography.

The increase in scale and finery of the later fourth-century monuments leads one, yet again, to consider their relationship to the ideology of democracy. The idealism of the classical *stelai* and their repetitive iconography, may be thought to indicate social and perhaps even political equality. However, size, quality and ornament subverted this concept of

equality and cemeteries became an arena for the expression of wealth and disparity in social status; hence the legislative acts prohibiting various types of monument (Garland 1989; Stears 1993). What is of interest is that the wealthy chose to continue within the bounds of the traditional iconography, simply embellishing or enlarging it, rather than create their own individualistic scene. Even when at the beginning of the fourth century a family chose to erect a monument for one of its members, Dexileos, who was amongst the annual war dead, it chose to usurp the *polis* iconography of the state memorial, rather than invent its own (I. Morris 1992; 1994). This would suggest that certain dominant ideologies concerning acceptable social roles and honourable deaths permeated through all the levels of Athenian society. However, expenditure on the monuments on which these ideologies were represented contradicted aspects of these same ideologies, which promoted the notion of all citizens as being equal within the *polis*. These ideologies appear to have been so pervasive in social discourse that even those who stood no chance of entry into this fictional equality, metics (resident aliens), employed the same iconography (Schmaltz 1979). Thus the 'equality' of Classical Athenian funerary reliefs may have served as a device to mask real status relationships as witnessed in the varying expenditure on monuments.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has argued that relief scenes on gravestones, evaluated in the context of the monument-type which they adorn, their position in the cemetery and their social function, can yield information about various Athenian ideological structures. The prominent siting of tombs and cemeteries within Attika, the financial outlay exhibited in the erection of many funerary monuments (Schmaltz 1983: 139; I. Morris 1992; 1994; Stears 1993) and the importance of funerary ritual in literary discourse imply that a concern with death was at the very centre of Athenian life. Yet even in the midst of death we are surrounded by ideology. Attitudes toward death and memorialisation appear to have provided an avenue for the expression of a number of social norms and ideologies. Images of women, men and children on classical grave monuments, placed as they were in highly visible topographical positions, may be considered as having been integral to the construction of Athenian concepts concerning their status, wealth, age categories and gender roles. The repetitive images served to reiterate and emphasise continually dominant *polis* ideologies surrounding acceptable and desirable modes of behaviour, lifestyle and ways of dying. Furthermore, ideological constructs as evidenced in material culture, especially that employed in ritual (Renfrew 1985), may function to blur consciousness of real status and economic relations; indeed one of the strengths of the methodology adopted in this chapter is that these tensions between the ideological and its referents are highlighted.

I have chosen to focus on the portrayal of women in this study, since the under-representation of 'real' females (as distinct from mythological or fictional characters) in literary discourse makes them an especially suitable subject for a study which aims to redress a perceived imbalance in Classical studies' treatment of textual and archaeological evidence. Although the funerary monuments are likely to have been both produced and bought by men rather than women, the images displayed on them may reflect the experienced reality (albeit ideologically constructed) of female life less obliquely than do the female plot-bound characters of tragedy and comedy.

This study makes no claims to be all-embracing or final. Indeed, the methodology undertaken in this study raises a number of problems; it is not a catch-all critique. Most notably, the approach tends toward the synchronic, although to an extent this is a reflection of both the quality and quantity of the source material and the limitations of space. But it can also be maintained that what is lost in this sort of analysis is the sense of the individual and her or his experience. Not only the individual artist as creative being but also the individual as a suffering entity. Thus grave monuments are evaluated solely in the terms of dominant ideologies (at the expense of marginalised ideologies) and conspicuous consumption rather than as witnesses to individually experienced emotions such as grief and fear of death. The monuments themselves, with their quality of restrained emotion, encourage this tendency to negate the level of pain experienced by the bereaved at death. The display of extreme grief in mourning appears to have been reserved for other arenas: the funeral itself, representations on pots and in tragedy. Grief may have surrounded memorials within the cemetery in the enaction of ritual but the monuments themselves belie it. One might argue in defence that the individual Athenian, with her or his experiences, is not recoverable; can there be an archaeology of grief?

NOTES

1 Versions of this chapter were read at Southampton, London, Reading and Exeter; I thank the audiences for their helpful comments. This study is drawn largely from my doctoral thesis *Women and the Family in the Funerary Ritual and Art of Classical Athens* (King's College, London 1993). The following have been most generous with their advice: Lin Foxhall, Fiona McHardy, Katrina McLeay, Richard Seaford, Emma Stafford, Geoffrey Waywell, John Wilkins. All opinions and errors are, of course, my own.

2 In using this term I mean that artefacts and images may be 'read' like a text; that they may convey information about a number of referents both at a simplistic and an ideological level and that a corpus of artefacts and images may be regarded as a form of visual discourse.

3 Jeffery 1962; Stears 1993; for the 'democratic' aspect of Classical memorials see Clairmont 1983; Humphreys 1980; Loraux 1986; I. Morris 1992; 1994. The influence of regional sculptural styles and Attic vase painting on the

new iconography and style is subject to discussion (Clairmont 1986; H. Hiller 1975; Stears 1993).

4 The translation of both these terms is difficult. The *genos* might best be described as the extended descent group based upon the paternal line, whilst the *oikos* would be representative of the members of a household but limited to a span of three generations.

5 For the connection with the unmarried see Demosthenes *Orationes* 43.13–14; 44.18; Kokula 1984: 13–15, 90–120, 143–50. There is still some debate concerning Kokula's hypothesis: Schmaltz 1979 (especially 23–37); Dehl 1981: 176–8; Boardman 1988: 171–9 (especially 175, 178) as to whether the term *loutrophoros* mentioned in the ancient texts should be identified with the vessel now identified as the *loutrophoros*; see Himmelmann-Wildschutz 1988 for examples of *loutrophoroi* which contradict Kokula's thesis.

6 Age categories for adult women are difficult to determine, with facial and dress characterisation of older females rare and occurring mainly on a small number of monuments dating to the fourth century.

7 This may indicate that they were bought 'off the peg', see Lattimore 1942; Tod 1951; Vérilhac 1985; epigrams' lack of interest in dates: R. Thomas 1989: 117–18; archaic epitaphs: Day 1989. The generic nature of the Classical epitaphs and monuments is well witnessed in Clairmont 1970, where the aims of the author are thwarted by the nature of his material.

8 Schmaltz 1983 has useful comments on the production of gravestones. Sculptors were prepared to add individualising detail when required; hence the bearded dwarf retainer on the two *loutrophoroi*. Athens NM nos 2563 and 3483; Blümel 1928: 57.

9 A count in Conze (1893–1922) reveals well over one hundred female figures identifiable as slaves. In some instances the dress is unclear however and a positive identification is not possible (*ibid.*: nos 68, 69, 86, 88, 89, 291, 303, 305, 341, 408, 422, 428, 730, 760, 870, 874, 883, 884, 1114, 1232, 1233).

10 Caskets may be either open or closed. When they are open the mistress figure may often take some piece of jewellery (indicated by paint and now lost). They may have short legs and handles or may be simple constructions lacking either; see Athens NM 1822, Diepolder 1931: pl. 26 on which both types occur. Thimme 1964 recognised in caskets evidence for grave reliefs representing funerary cult, although his views have not been generally accepted (see the able refutation by Zanker 1966).

11 The woman as wool-worker can be suggested by the presence of a *kalathos* in the scene: Blümel 1928: Berlin K23 pl. 33; Leiden RO IA 12, Bastet and Brunsting 1982: no. 125 pl. 33 where the woman appears to be taking wool from it; see also Conze 1893–1922: nos 812 (distaff); 524 (spindle); 40, 47, 51, 59 (*kalathoi*). Some scenes in which there appears to have been no overt reference to wool-working appear to echo the pose of the spinner by the arrangement of the arms, the left hand held high to the shoulder, the right held at waist level. Although these women might be actually veiling or resting their head on their left hand, the pose is suggestive of spinning. Perhaps this positioning of the arms and hands was (sub-)consciously associated with industry and virtue.

12 Notable exceptions are those *stelai* which show women at tombs. These are few in number and difficult to interpret. They might represent the deceased

at her own tomb, as Athens NM 720, Diepolder 1931: pl. 35.1 suggests; or they might show women as mourners in the cemetery; see the women grieving at a tomb on a lekythos in the Piraeus Museum; Zapheiropoulos 1953–4; Kovacsovics 1990: pl. 25.

13 Stears 1993; Demosthenes *Orationes* 47: the old nurse who returns to her previous master's home once she is widowed; he in turn felt obliged to maintain her. Nurses could be held in some affection as *IG* II^2 7873 makes clear; the family would gladly meet the expenses of the funeral and memorial.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MONUMENTAL AMBITIONS

The significance of posterity in Greece[1]

LIN FOXHALL

Abstract: This chapter focuses on two modes of temporal thought which I have called 'human time' and 'monumental time'. It is argued that these are important lived behaviours in Classical Greece, which can be discerned in the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources and which have implications for our uses of them.

What we know about Classical Greece is what the Greeks have left us. In large part this is what they have let us know. There is more to this statement than meets the eye, since what we have been allowed to see represents only a small glimpse of the cultural richness and complexity of an unreachable whole. This chapter is about the ways in which Greeks conceptualised posterity, both within their lives and beyond them. For us their posterities have special significance. Not only have they played a major part in formulating our understanding of Classical Greek society but beyond that we have used them as the foundations for our own European past.

By 'Greeks' I have to mean the citizen adult male elite of the city-states, especially (but not exclusively) Athens, for reasons that will become apparent. This is, of course, only a small portion of the totality of what a Greek community was.

This chapter is not about memory, a topic on which there has developed a distinguished body of scholarly enquiry (Detienne 1981; Vernant 1983; Vidal-Naquet 1986; Finley 1975b; Humphreys 1980, 1983 and others), crowned by the recent work of Rosalind Thomas (1989; 1992). Memory is not unrelated to posterity. Both are facets of the same jewel fixed in the cultural setting of Greek cosmology. But if memory concerns a past which 'is no longer the past but the present as one would like it to be'

(Vidal-Naquet 1986: 47), then posterity concerns the construction (in all senses) of an image of the present for the future to see and remember. Hence this chapter focuses on these largely conscious exercises in self-presentation ubiquitous in Greek art, literature and epigraphy.

Inevitably, culturally specific notions of posterity must be linked to notions of time. Greeks, like most people, used many modes of temporal thought. The two dimensions on which this chapter focuses I have called 'human time' and 'monumental time'. These are not rigid categories and there is a spectrum of continuity between them. They are my designations, not theirs.[2] But I will argue that these are important categories for lived behaviour, though they are not articulated in precisely these terms. The difference between the extremes of 'monumental' and 'human' time is encapsulated by a story told by Herodotos (*Histories* 1.30–3), a fifth-century BC writer of narrative prose – which is sometimes mistakenly called history. This moral fable is part of an encounter between two Great Men of his own past: Solon (the Athenian lawgiver famed in antiquity for his wisdom) and Kroisos (the wealthy king of Lydia). This meeting is itself apocryphal since the two men lived a generation apart.

Kroisos has just given his visitor Solon a guided tour of his accumulated treasure and when he asks the leading question, 'Solon, whom do you think is the happiest man on earth?' Solon's reply takes him by surprise: 'Tellos the Athenian'. After hearing the story of this very ordinary person Tellos,[3] the disgruntled Kroisos asks, 'All right then, who is the second happiest man?' Once again, he is astounded by the reply, 'Kleobis and Biton'.[4] Eventually Kroisos (and the listener) receive the moral explanation. After some flashy mathematical calculations (*Histories* 1.32.2–4, to show he really *is* a sage), Solon points to the end, the outcome of a man's life, to show that this is the only perspective from which happiness (*eudaimonia*) can be judged: count no man happy until he is dead. Herodotos' irony is that only a few chapters later Kroisos meets the end of his happiness at least (1.86) and nearly the end of his life[5] at the hands of the Persians and is rescued from being burned alive only by the intervention of Apollo and/or the Persian king. In other words, the significance and quality of human lives can be meaningfully judged only when one can, like Herodotos' audience, view them from a perspective larger than the span of a single human life.[6]

Tellos is the epitome of 'human time' lived out at its most successful (cf. Humphreys 1983: 145). It is the temporal sphere which contains but also restricts most aspects of mortal life. His name, a pun on the word *telos*, 'end, outcome', is a deliberate signal by Herodotos of the location of his life in the moral cosmos.[7] 'Human time', like Tellos' life in retrospect, makes sense within a time-span of three or four generations.[8] The interesting thing is that 'human time' is normally actualised or expressed not 'vertically' as a temporal relationship but 'horizontally' as a kinship relationship.

The two most significant social units in Classical Greece which controlled everyday relationships were the household (*oikos*) and the bilateral kindred (*angkhisteia*). These are related to each other in that generally the free members of households belonged to the same *angkhisteia*, though not always to the same nuclear family. Multi-generational households were apparently fairly common, at least among the elite, and were generally considered desirable. The limits of the *angkhisteia* are described by Greeks themselves as relatedness 'out to the children of first cousins on both sides' (Demosthenes *Orationes* 43.57).

Households do not extend themselves infinitely onward in a single line in time. Rather they are continuously being reconstituted and they are recreated every other generation. This is reflected in the naming system: sons are named after their grandfathers and daughters after their grandmothers (so first cousins often share the same name but not the same patronymic). Ideally, then, you die in a household in which the youngest generation bears your name, as Tellos did. Within the *angkhisteia* there may be several households which bear your name in this way.

Though the *angkhisteia* is 'horizontally' expressed as kinship out to second cousins, 'vertically' in time it is those who share great-grandparents. The youngest members are three generations removed from a common ancestral couple whom they probably never knew personally, though their parents most likely did. The future is always a limited, 'medium-term' future of children and grandchildren and much thought is devoted at a pragmatic level to planning at this level (e.g. planning dowries for daughters, marriages for children, investments and improvements on land).

The limits of the *angkhisteia* become symbolically significant as the temporal and social limits for most of the privileges and responsibilities of kinship. You can claim inheritances in circumstances where there are no direct descendants, marry an *epikleros* (a girl with no brothers), prosecute for murder, give a girl in betrothal, bury and perform the appropriate memorial rituals, only in relation to persons within the same *angkhisteia* as yourself. The importance of this limit of kinship was so thoroughly embedded in Greek society that it probably survived Roman rule and Christianity to become enshrined in Greek Orthodoxy (and modern Greek law) as the limits of incest (third cousin is the closest allowable marriage).

Accordingly, attachment to specific houses and pieces of land rarely lasted more than three generations (encouraged by partible inheritance within a bilateral kinship system). Even the perpetuation of human lives in memory by sepulchral monuments was confined to the human time of the *angkhisteia*: very few family cemeteries of Classical Athens lasted more than three or four generations (Humphreys 1980; R. Thomas 1990: 105).[9]

So the destiny of human time is the end of individuality and even memory, as well as its outcome. Human memory is limited – it has a *telos*. And here too the name Tellos which Herodotos has chosen is

significant again precisely because it is not a real name of a real individual. A real person with a name remembered beyond human temporal limits would by the very mention of that name in the story have demonstrably escaped human time.

Entering monumental time entails a leap out of human time but posterity was believed to be accessible only in this time dimension. Human and monumental time represent different orders of permanence, because they operate in different dimensions. But monumental time is a dangerous place for humans to be, as shown by the story of Kleobis and Biton when the goddess takes notice of them (see note 4). In making the leap from one dimension to the other they lose their lives.

The fate of Achilles is a case in point (Goldhill 1991: 79–80; Humphreys 1983: 145). In the *Iliad* (9.410–16) Achilles chooses not to have a nice, long, quiet life but to go for eternal fame and glory (*kleos*) via a heroic death in battle. This choice is put to him by his divine mother, Thetis (*Iliad* 1.413–20). His heroic status was sustained by the choice he made. Interestingly in the *Iliad* Achilles has a son. But it is not through his descendants (in the human dimension) that Achilles is projected into the future and remembered but through the immortality of his deeds, which are sung and spoken about by men (in the monumental dimension).

Similarly with Kleobis and Biton, whose names play on the Greek words for 'life, vigour' (*bios, biotos*) and 'glory' (*kleos*), it is a near-superhuman deed which when brought to the attention of the goddess Hera (through praise)[10] rockets them into posterity. Significantly, Herodotos tells us, their new status was itself monumentalised by two statues dedicated by the Argives at Delphi (the site of a major inter-state shrine of Apollo and his famous oracle; cf. Humphreys 1983: 145). The statues which Herodotos says he saw there in fact actually exist: they were found by French archaeologists in the treasury of the Argives (fig. 8.1).

Vernant (1983: 79–82) has pointed out that, for Greeks, memories of the past have to be invoked via a supernatural power, usually the goddess of memory herself (Mnemosyne), the Muses or often the *Kharites* (Graces). It is the Muses to whom Hesiod and Homer pray to inspire them to sing about the past. Calling up the past is like calling up the spirits of the dead; it entails an act of conjuring. I would refine Vernant's point to argue that the particular past which is enticed to reveal itself to mortals in the present by these means is the past beyond the limits of human time, older than three or four generations. (There is after all no problem with remembering within human time because no one is ever more than one step/person removed from direct access to a particular memory; cf. R. Thomas 1989: 126–7.)

But within Greek logic this process can work in reverse as well. You can 'remember', that is, project your mind, into the future further than your own grandchildren via oracles or divination. An oracle can predict the end of human time itself. Significantly it is the oracle at Delphi, according to

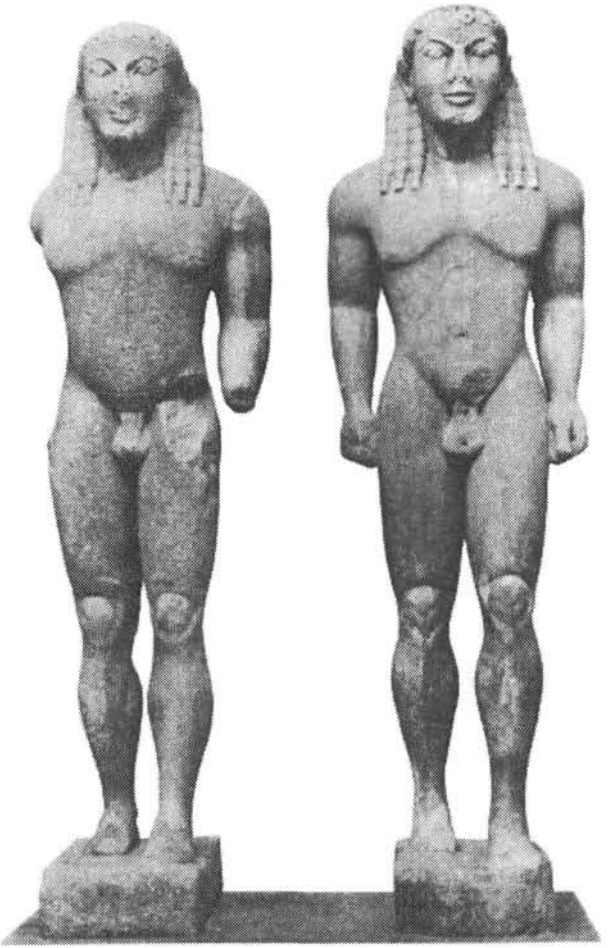


Figure 8.1 Statues of Kleobis and Biton from the Treasury of the Argives, Delphi. *Source* J. Boardman *et al., Greek Art* (London, 1964), plate 99. Reprinted by kind permission of Hirmer Press.

Herodotos (*Histories* 1.91), which predicted the end of the line of Lydian kings to which Kroisos belonged. Similarly, it was the oracle at Delphi which predicted the end of the Labdakid dynasty with Oedipos and his children (Sophokles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 715–25; Vernant 1982: 23).

Monumental time is permanent. Hence it constitutes the realm of the divine and can be reached or entered only through the channels by which men talk to gods: magic, divination and oracles (in which the god's voice speaks through a mediator, as with the Pythia, the priestess who pronounced the oracles of Apollo, at Delphi). This is not a realm in which humans properly belong. As the examples of Kleobis and Biton

and Achilles show, it is problematic (and frequently unpleasant, in a conventional sense) for humans to break into that dimension and few do so directly (cf. Pindar *Nemean* 6).[11]

But there is another, safer pathway. Though humans cannot become gods and only rarely become heroes, they can become and produce memories which will outlast their tombstones. Herein lies the heart of our problem with understanding ancient Greece, because these deliberate attempts to create memories-to-be for posterity now constitute a large proportion of the historical and archaeological sources which are most used.

Memories live in the words of men, with divine impetus. Most obviously they are the special words of poetry, song, drama and literature whose invention is directly inspired in men's minds by the Muses (R. Thomas 1992: 113–17; Goldhill 1991: 69). It is very interesting (and I think not accidental) that the first two works of continuous Greek prose which we possess, the fifth-century BC writings of Herodotos and Thucydides, explicitly declare that their purpose is that men will not ever forget the deeds which they record.

Herodotos, in fact, commemorates on a broader canvas the events of the Persian Wars which had already been more briefly celebrated in dramatic poetry by Aeschylos (*The Persians*). For both these writers, though the events on which they focused were 'real', they are treated as if they were legend – in the sense of being great deeds of heroes worthy of a place in the realm of the 'monumental'. Herodotos' preface makes this clear (*Histories* 1.*praef.*):

> Herodotos of Halikarnassos, this is the result of his enquiry, so that neither the things that have happened among men might become faded in time, nor the great and wonderful deeds displayed by both Greeks and barbarians might lose their glory, both the other things they did and especially the reason they went to war with each other.[12]

Thucydides tells us he is writing a *ktema eis aei*,'a possession for always' (cf. R. Thomas 1992: 103–4). In writing about the present, he specifically invokes both the future and the past and, though he links them together in a slightly different way from the poetic tradition, it is clear that his own justification of his work specifically locates it in the dimension of posterity that surrounds human time, relating the stories he tells to the legendary realm which normally resides in this dimension. More specifically, he redefines the human deeds of his own time as 'legendary' and thus worthy of permanent preservation in that other dimension for posterity (Thucydides *Historiae* 1.22.4):

> Perhaps the fact that the deeds described are not legendary (*mythodes*) will make seem them less enjoyable to listeners. But if as many of those who wish to view clearly the things that have happened and the things which will happen once again (humanity being what it is and remaining approximately

> the same), judge them useful, that will be sufficient. A possession for ever rather than a party-piece [*agonisma*] for the immediate has been compiled for your listening.

For poetry a statement of permanence is unnecessary: since it was inspired by divine forces in the first place (Goldhill 1991: 70; Vernant 1983: 76–8), its home in the realm of the permanent is self-evident. Men remember because the gods let them have poetry. For prose, however, such permanence was not necessarily assured in the same way. Herodotos' and Thucydides' statements of purpose set the works that follow firmly in monumental time. As with poetry, both the deeds and men about which the words speak and the speaker himself become permanent in memory (Goldhill 1991: 165).[13]

Pindar (*Nemean* 5.1–6) beautifully expresses the central importance of men's words as the divinely inspired vehicle for permanent memory.[14] Songs, he says, are a better monument than a statue. Statues stay in one place while Pindar's songs will travel the whole world like a ship for ever, being constantly repeated in the words of men. The same contrast, between poetry and more concrete memorials like statues, emerges in other poetry as well (R. Thomas 1992: 114–15).

Grave monuments, both inscribed and uninscribed, are a good example of the problems of escaping 'human time'. There is a level at which such memorials were aimed at extending the memory of a particular individual into the future (Humphreys 1983: 151–4). But there is also a level at which the Greeks themselves clearly realise that, ordinarily, the commemorated individual lasts only as long as he or she has relatives to remember her or him, both informally and through formal memorial rituals (see Humphreys 1980 and Stears in this volume, on the short life-span of most family cemeteries). Though old tombs would be treated with respect, it is plain that they very rapidly became anonymous. For example, in Demosthenes *Orationes* 55.14, the speaker owns a plot of land with old tombs on it but apparently he has no idea to whom they belonged.[15] The practice of lending the memorial a voice, with an inscription (often in verse and in the first person), seems to be an attempt to attain some poetic permanence for the unheroic individual: indeed Simonides (fragment 581) claims that his poetry will outlast any tombstone (R. Thomas 1992: 62–4). But the memorial of a deed of legendary importance needed none of these artificial preservatives to attain permanence and make their mark on posterity. Once the heroism of the fallen dead at Marathon entered the realm of legend (which it did quite rapidly; see Whitley in this volume), the permanence of the memory was assured though the mound was unmarked.

Within the physical world constructed by the Greeks there are more 'human' and more 'monumental' elements. Private houses in Greece are intimately tied to the 'human' time of the *oikos* and the *angkhisteia*. They

are not elaborately decorated and look inward, not out towards the street (a feature noted by Nevett in this volume). In urban settings they are all crammed together and linked to each other. Often there is evidence that individual houses were internally subdivided and rearranged to allow for the short-term lifecycle changes of the households which inhabit them. Rarely do they seem to be inhabited by the same family for more than three generations.

On the other hand Athenian public buildings of the fifth to fourth centuries BC are quite elaborate. There were a number of sixth-century BC 'monumental' structures in Athens, most notably (and significantly) those sponsored by members of the Peisistratid dynasty. Most did not survive the Persian sack of the early fifth century BC; among the few examples which did is the altar of the Twelve Gods located in the Agora, dedicated by Peisistratos son of Hippias (Meiggs and Lewis 1988: 19, no. 11). However, even in the fifth and fourth centuries, the buildings which attracted the most sculptural decoration (and dedications) were temples. Civic buildings, even important ones like law courts, council chambers and stoas are nowhere near as imposing as temples and are not decorated with *sculpture* to the same degree, though, as in the case of the Stoa Poikilos, they might be decorated with wall paintings and other forms of monumental art.[16]

The Stoa Poikilos is an interesting example. Although the paintings do not survive, there are good descriptions of them in later ancient sources, most notably Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.15.2–4). Within the Stoa, built in the mid-fifth century BC (Francis 1990: 86), the painting showed not only scenes from the Trojan War and Theseus fighting the Amazons but also the most epic battle of the Persian Wars, the Battle of Marathon (490 BC). According to Pausanias, the Marathon painting was the last (in the physical sequence) of four murals: whether it was painted contemporaneously with the building of the structure is unknown. Like the rather earlier *Persians* by Aeschylos (472 BC) and the rather later (third quarter of the fifth century BC or later?) *Histories* of Herodotos, it elevates the 'real' victory of the Greek 'defeat' of the Persians to legendary proportions.

Other cities, Sparta most notoriously, did not monumentalise their public spaces to the extent that Athens did, as Thucydides (*Histories* 1.10.4) notes in another interesting vision of the future.[17] Although this was partly a factor of Athens' great wealth, the counter-example of Sparta (which was equally wealthy and powerful) suggests this is not the whole answer.

Temples, however, are centres of figured art (especially sculpture) throughout the Greek world. Often sculptural decoration, generally picturing mythological scenes, is part of the architectural design. Temples are also places where works of art of all kinds are deposited as dedications. The inter-state shrines of Delphi and to a lesser extent Olympia also developed a series of 'treasuries', used as a combination of warehouses for offerings and hotels by the citizens of particular states. Many of these

are elaborately decorated, again with mythological scenes. Olympia, and perhaps even more Delphi, could be said to be the most 'monumental' temple sites in Greece.

That myths are the central focus of the most extravagant, and thus 'monumental', Greek art is not coincidental: they are also the focus of 'monumental' Greek poetry.[18] The myths portrayed on the pediments and friezes are the iconography of 'monumental' time. They display the legends of gods and mortals also preserved in men's songs. And they are sited in precisely those places where mortals speak to gods. In that most monumental of shrines, Delphi, the god also speaks to humans. The statues of Kleobis and Biton reside here in the treasury of the Argives. One extraordinary exception to the focus on mythological subjects in monumental temple sculpture is the Parthenon frieze, to which I shall return below.

In the artistic conventions of Archaic and Classical Greece gods can frequently be distinguished from humans. Gods are generally depicted with attributes fixed throughout their artistic depictions. Apollo virtually always carries a lyre, Athena is nearly always armed and wearing the aegis. The same often goes for heroes and demi-gods like Herakles, who can generally be identified by his lion's skin and club; though in contrast a less 'god-like' hero such as Theseus is harder to identify. Since Theseus has no fixed attributes of his own in the artistic tradition, usually he must be identified by the divine and supernatural characters which constitute the context of the story depicted. Other supernatural beings like centaurs and minotaurs are patently non-human and thus easily identifiable (both to Greeks and to us). But ordinary humans, even rather special ones like Theseus, are almost never identifiable as individuals from their depictions alone. Theseus can be identified by the presence of the minotaur but for regular mortals, individuality, if it exists at all, must be written – usually as an inscription, unless it can be projected into the memories of men in some other way (as in the case of Kleobis and Biton – significantly the statues do not have their names written on them).

Archaic and Classical Greek art did not individualise people before the fourth century BC.[19] There were no portraits in the modern (or even Roman) manner – Kleobis and Biton (Archaic, sixth century BC) are a case in point. What you looked like wasn't going to be remembered and didn't matter – what you did (and the words your deeds inspired) was important for posterity. Frequently individual ceramic painted vases, metal vessels and sculptures are signed but not always. Similarly votive offerings often have the name of the dedicator but not always. Even major restorations and building programmes (for example those of the Peisistratid family, Kimon,[20] and Perikles in Athens or the Alkmeonid restoration and upgrade of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi), where the restorers' names were attached to the great event, were not necessarily commemorated by monumental, written inscriptions. In fact, the larger and more

significant a work of art was (and its patron, dedicator and artist were), the *less* likely it was to be signed.

During the period of Perikles' ascendancy in the mid-fifth century BC in Athens, the sculptor and architect Phidias was put in charge of the ambitious building programme which still shapes the core of Athens today. He designed the Parthenon and all its sculptural decoration, indeed he may even have executed some of the sculpture personally. He also made the chryselephantine (gold and ivory) cult statue of Athena Parthenos which stood in the temple, as well as a gold and ivory cult statue of Zeus Olympios at Olympia. It would seem that not one of these works was ever signed. We do have a possible 'signature' of Phidias, though. It is on his cup, the equivalent of his coffee mug, found in the excavation of his workshop at Olympia (fig. 8.2).

Why this extraordinary absence of 'signatures' in association with the greatest works of Greek art, given that 'signatures' are common on smaller-scale pieces? The answer must be that they didn't need them. The monuments are not a direct entry into permanent, 'monumental time' in their own right – in a sense they are not wholly 'monumental' in their own right. Rather they act as a signifier which triggers off the words of men, in which truly permanent memories reside. If Phidias'

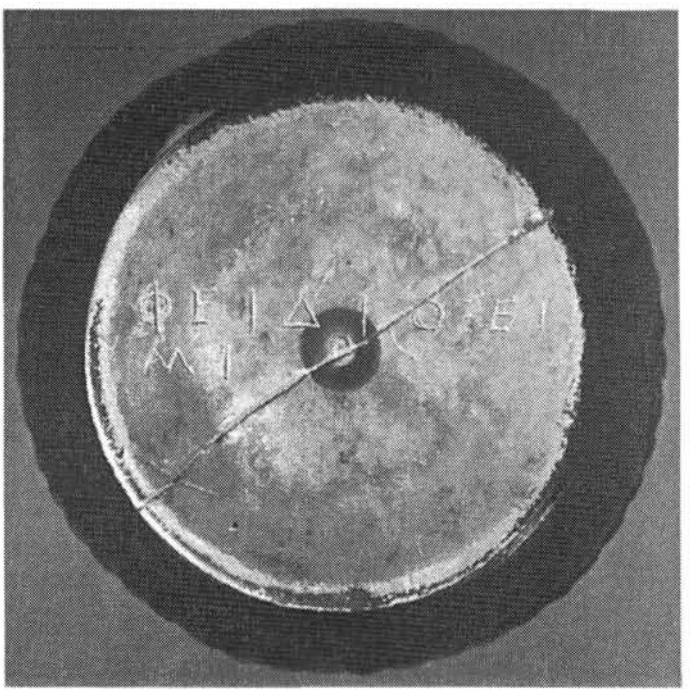


Figure 8.2 Inscribed cup from the workshop of Phidias, Olympia. *Source* DAI, Athens (Neg. Nr OL 4441)

name is spoken and remembered when somebody looks at the Parthenon, then a signature is superfluous. If Phidias is remembered in the words of men for what he did, when the Parthenon has long since crumbled he will still be remembered.

The example of Phidias provides the answer to Pindar (*Nemean* 5). Though Phidias' works do not travel, Phidias himself did. Moreover, the greatness of his works carry his name into the future as well as across the world. Similarly the statues of Kleobis and Biton, placed as they are at the centre of the world (the *omphalos*) where so many Greeks went, triggered men's memories to speak the immortal words in which they are remembered. Men and their words travel even if the statues do not.

The Parthenon frieze, as I mentioned above, is an exception. Its significance depends on the shock value of its setting. This is the only instance, to my knowledge, in Greek monumental temple sculpture, when 'real' human activity is elevated to the permanence of legend and myth.[21] The Parthenon was dedicated to the goddess Athena Parthenos. All of the other sculptural decoration is mythological. It was built under the direction of Phidias as part of Perikles' fifth-century BC building programme during the time when Athens controlled and collected tribute from a considerable part of the Aegean. The treasury of the Athenian Empire (always described by the Athenians as 'the allies') was under the guardianship of Athena, who was donated one-tenth of the tribute payments. The Panathenaia thus became not only the major festival of Athena in Athens, affirming Athenian communal solidarity but also the central ritual of the Athenian Empire (allies were expected to contribute sacrificial animals and to send representatives).

On the Parthenon frieze the preparations for and the enactment of the Panathenaia are depicted on the north, south and west friezes (figs 8.3 and 8.4), under the watching eyes of the Olympian deities on the east frieze, visible as you enter (fig. 8.5). Significantly, the Olympians are on a larger scale than the humans. It is unlikely to have escaped the notice of most Classical viewers that this arrangement is an iconographic imitation of the way in which the gods view the antics of the heroes in the legends immortalised in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

What we see here is the monumentalisation of the citizen body of Athens. A whole human community has been rocketed into the realm of the divine and the permanent, as the subject of legend. 'Human time' has been transformed into 'monumental time'. Their central ritual has become the symbol of their Great Deed of imperialism. The whole range of the human community is represented and people of different ages, sexes, roles and statuses can be distinguished. But there are no individuals. And there is no inscription or other written memorial of an artist, designer, patron or even people. None the less this representation of a pious Athenian community in its sacred setting where gods and myths belong serves as a sign to evoke the words of men. Were the Athenians

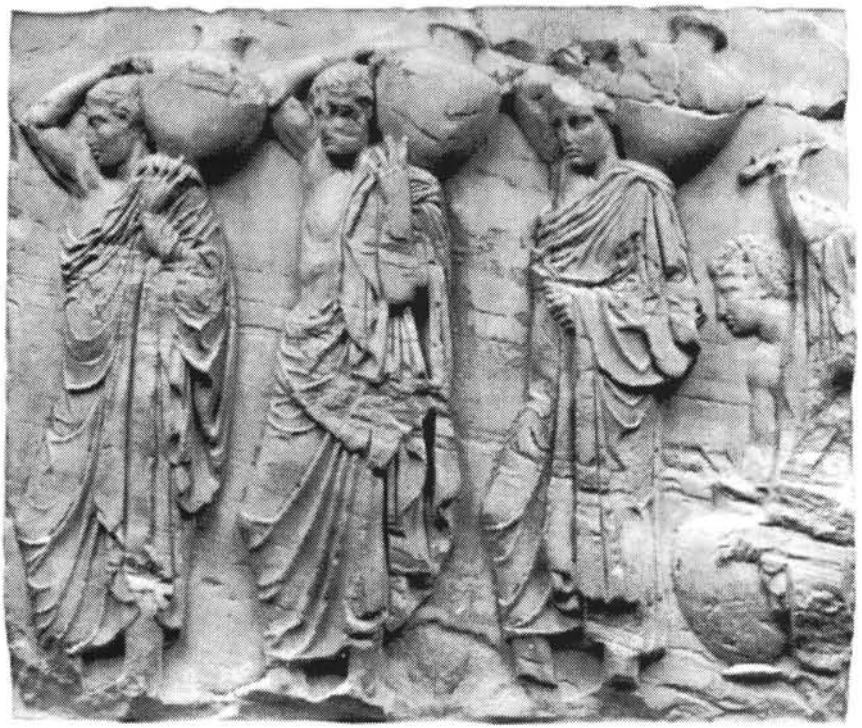


Figure 8.3 Bearers of hydriai, slab VI from the north frieze of the Parthenon. *Source* DAI Athens (Neg. Nr 72/2984)

asking for trouble, for the fate of Kleobis and Biton, in Greek eyes? Herodotos might have thought so,[22] but in inspiration it is remarkably like Thucydides' transformation of contemporary 'reality' into the stuff of myth and legend, worthy of commemoration in a monumental form and aimed directly at posterity.

The only really significant route to posterity, then, is through men's words, as they are inspired by the gods and constantly repeated. The extreme example of this ideal is Sokrates, who never wrote anything at all. The fame of his ideas is carried to immortality by other men's words – Plato, Xenophon and even Aristophanes.[23] The creation of monuments may help lesser mortals to trigger the process. This includes literary as well as the full range of architectural and artistic monuments. The best of these may be great deeds in their own right as well as signifiers. These need no identification to set off the tales of human memories and are the most purely 'monumental'. But lesser works may call on the aid of writing by including a name, a dedication, a graffito to ensure that they *do* signify. Hence writing appears largely on more minor works, less sure

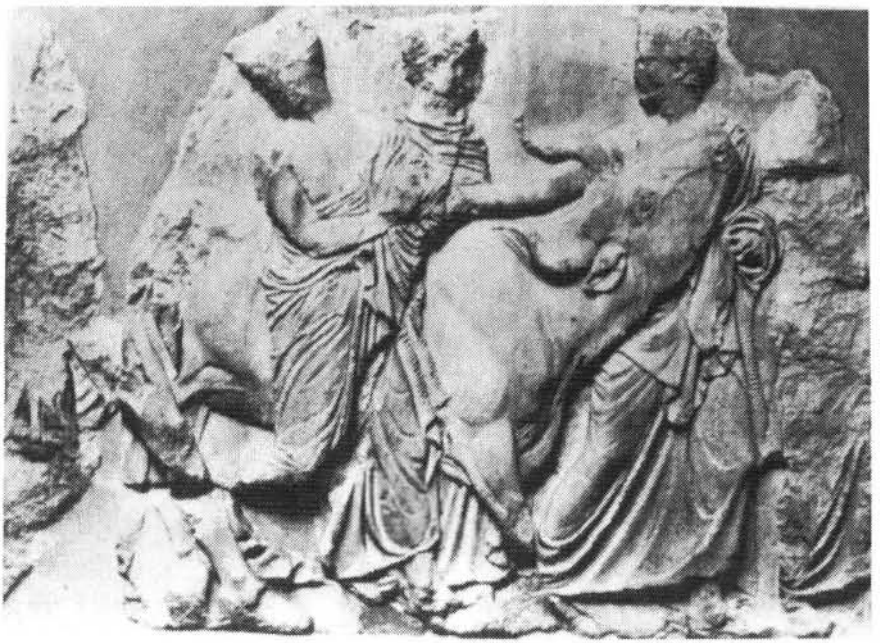


Figure 8.4 Youths leading cattle, south frieze of the Parthenon. *Source* Trustees of the British Museum

of monumental permanence in their own right and thus more in need of explicit signification. Inscriptions of all kinds remind. They trigger off men's words to fill in the rest. (On the limited monumentality of inscriptions see R. Thomas 1992: 84–8.)

Monuments, then, work on a continuum of memory, though the end is similar within the time-scale in which each operates. The grave stele (*mnema*) elicits memories (*mneme/ai, mnemosynai*) and good words of the dead but only on a human scale of three or four generations. A statue, inscription, painting or dedication lasts longer and approaches the monumental.[24] But the only human fame which can enter the realm of truly permanent 'monumental' time, where gods and legends belong, is the truly Great Deed. This can take many forms: a heroic act or career, an idea, a physical structure or work of art or literature. But as for Sokrates or Kleobis and Biton, this can be a dangerous place for mortals to go. For the greatest deeds of all, men's words lift up what they are remembering to the divine because they are divinely inspired.

If I am right we are left with serious implications for the study of 'Greek history' as well as our own understanding of 'our' Greek legacy. Firstly, this examination of how the Greeks located themselves in time shows that modern concerns about authenticity are irrelevant to much of the study of the Greek world. If 'spurious' works of art were attributed

Figure 8.5 Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, east frieze of the Parthenon. *Source* Alison Frantz

to Phidias, or speeches to Demosthenes, laws to Solon or Great Deeds to Theseus, that simply reinforced their claim to fame in the realm of permanence. They simply provide more possible signifiers to stimulate memories and words.

Secondly, in the realm of time outside a single human life individuality takes on new meanings. The further towards monumental permanence you go, the less *human* individuality (e.g. physical features, specific events) matters. Accuracy thus becomes unimportant and fame and the perpetuation of the memory of a person's greatness are what become truly immortalised. Hence the prominence of so-called 'folktale' motifs (*topoi*) in, for example, the writings of Herodotos,[25] which are highlighted by many scholars, cannot be considered the result of sheer naiveté or a kind of 'primitive' historical explanation (cf. R. Thomas 1992: 102–4). In fact, it is evidence of Herodotos' quite different concerns from modern scholars working in an empiricist historical framework. That the stories of Kypselos and Periander, the tyrants of Korinth, parallel the legends of Oedipos (Vernant 1982), or that Solon and Kroisos meet to act out a moral fable when they could not have done, serves as well (or better) to perpetuate their fame (or notoriety) as 'reality'. A 'folktale' acts as an

echo for memory, reverberating fame long after accuracy (and specificity) have vanished. In a monumental mode of thought fame is more important than accuracy. Hence what ought to have happened may well make a better monument than what 'really' did happen.[26] Aeschylos, Herodotos and the paintings of the Stoa Poikilos elevated to legend the memories of the human past which were just slipping out of reach, thereby placing them in the dimension of permanent, 'monumental' time. Thucydides' coup, paralleled in art by the Parthenon frieze, was to transform the living present into a memory for the future, a permanent monument for posterity.

Third, we attach our own origins in 'western civilisation' to an image of Greece which they left us almost on purpose. We have incorporated notions of the monument – and the exclusivity such permanence entails – at the roots of our own notion of culture, without previously questioning either our own or their assumptions about posterity. Posterity has, in fact, become a cultural filter which preserves certain things for a future beyond human life and in the process of so doing elevates them to a privileged status, regardless of their 'importance' in real lived life. The criteria for selection reflect the concerns of dominant elites for perpetuating themselves. When we look back at the past of the Greeks or of ourselves it is easy to forget that the meaning and significance of events and persons have been rearranged for us in this way.

This leaves us with a problem for archaeology and history as we understand them, fundamentally because Greeks did not pursue these subjects out of sheer intellectual curiosity. Certain Greeks, especially the adult, male citizen elite were, however, very interested in posterity. This is the context for the production of most of our source material. So we have the posterity they have left us. We have the signs to inspire the words. But so many of the memories are the ones they have made for us.

NOTES

1 This paper has profited tremendously as a result of comments from and discussions with Hamish Forbes, Robin Osborne, Nicholas Purcell, Karen Stears and Rosalind Thomas. However much they may ultimately disagree with me I am grateful for their suggestions, ideas and stimulating conversations.

2 I do not mean by these designations what Vidal-Naquet (1986: 40) refers to as 'divine time' and 'human time'.

3 Herodotos has Solon give as reasons for his choice (*Histories* 1.30.4–5): 'In the first place his city was prosperous and he had good and beautiful children, and lived to see children born to each of them, and all these children surviving. Moreover he had what we consider to be a good livelihood, and the end of his life was glorious, for when the Athenians were engaged in battle in Eleusis, he came to the rescue for his fellow-citizens, routed the enemy, and died in the best possible way. The Athenians honoured him greatly with a public funeral on the spot where he fell'.

4 Herodotos *Histories* 1.31.1–5: 'He said, "Kleobis and Biton. For these two among the Argives had a sufficient livelihood and physical strength, for they were both prize-winning athletes and the following story is told about them. When it was the festival of Hera among the Argives, it was necessary for their mother to be transported to the temple by ox-cart, but the oxen didn't return from the fields on time. So since time was short, they hitched themselves to the yoke and dragged the cart which their mother drove for forty-five stades to the temple. When they had accomplished this feat witnessed by the crowd attending the festival, the best possible end of life happened to them, for by them the divine taught that it is better for people to be dead than alive. The Argives standing around rejoiced in the strength of the young men, and the Argive women congratulated their mother that she was in charge of such children. And their mother, being carried away by the deed and by the glory, standing opposite the cult statue she prayed that to her sons Kleobis and Biton, who had brought her such honour, the goddess would give the best fate which could befall a person. And after this prayer when they had sacrificed and feasted, the two young men fell asleep in the temple and never woke up, for they had reached this end. And the Argives had statues made of them which they dedicated in Delphi, since they were the best of men".'

5 It probably was the 'real' end of Kroisos' life.

6 Note the similar sentiment and logic of permanent and mortal time dimensions in Pindar, *Nemean 6.*

7 On the significance of the notion of *telos* for Greek concepts of time see Vernant 1983: 87–8.

8 On the importance of the three to four generation limit for memory see R. Thomas 1989: 100–6; Humphreys 1980.

9 Cf. the way in which the dead gradually lose their individuality in modern Greece in the transfer from individually marked grave plot to the charnel pit.

10 Significantly, it is praise which brings on the evil eye, frequently unintentionally, in modern Greece by triggering off envy. The logic of the Kleobis and Biton story is similar.

11 Pindar *Nemean* 6.1–5 (trans. Lattimore 1947: 111):

> There is one
> race of men, one race of gods; both have breath
> of life from a single mother. But sundered power
> holds us divided, so that the one is nothing, while for the other the brazen sky is established
> their sure citadel forever. Yet we have some likeness in great
> intelligence or strength to the immortals.

12 It is interesting that Herodotos, like Pindar and other poets, makes a conscious effort to attach his own name and fame to the glory of the events about which he is writing: note that his name is the first word in the *Histories.*

13 I say 'men' here quite consciously. Women were systematically excluded from the realm of 'monumental time' for reasons which I have argued elsewhere (Foxhall 1994).

14 Pindar *Nemean* 5.1–6 (trans. Lattimore 1947: 108):

> I am no maker of images, not one to fashion idols standing quiet
> on pedestals. Take ship of burden rather, or boat, delight of my song,

forth from Aegina, scattering the news
that Lampon's son, Pytheas the strong,
has won the garland of success at Nemea, pankratist
showing not yet on his cheeks the summer
of life to bring soft blossoming.

15 For a first-century AC example of the same sentiment see the sepulchral epigram by Antophilos (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.176):

Not because I lacked a funeral when I died, do I lie here,
A naked corpse above the wheat-bearing earth.
For once upon a time I was buried, but now by the hand of the ploughman
the iron share has turned me up.
Who says that death is the release from evils, when for me, O stranger,
not even the tomb brings the last of sufferings.

16 My working hypothesis, though there is not space to test it in this chapter, is that, from a Greek point of view, sculpture is generally more 'monumental' than painting.

17 Thucydides *Historiae* 1.10.2: 'If the city of the Lakedaimonians were deserted, and only the temples and the foundations of structures were left, when much time had gone forward, I think there would be much disbelief at the glory [*kleos*] of their power. Indeed, they occupy two-fifths of the Peloponnese and they lead both the whole of it and many allies outside it. But since it is not a joined-up, urban city, and it does not use lavish temples and other structures, but it is built as villages in the ancient Greek way, it would appear second-rate. But if the same thing happened to Athens the view which appeared would represent the city as twice as powerful as it is.'

18 Along the same lines, it is interesting to note that the victory odes of Pindar do not focus on the family of the victory still dwelling in 'human' time to any great extent (i.e. within three or four generations). Instead they elaborate the victor's relation to the heroic, mythological past of 'monumental' time (often in the literal sense of elaborating his divine ancestry) (R. Thomas 1989: 107).

19 There are statues 'of people', like that of Perikles dedicated on the Acropolis in the late fifth century BC, or for that matter, Kleobis and Biton, but these are not likenesses, in our modern understanding of portraiture.

20 It has recently been argued (Francis 1990: chapters 4 and 5) that the iconography of the *Stoa Poikilos* monumentalised Kimon and his family.

21 The friezes of Greeks fighting Persians and Greeks fighting Greeks from the slightly later Temple of Athena Nike is another possible example but the preserved scenes do not allow for the specific identification of the action. They could as easily represent the Trojan War as the Persian War.

22 It is interesting to note that Kleobis and Biton's mother is impelled by the almost excessive praise of her sons and her subsequent pride in them to make what turns out to be a rash request to the goddess. And all the action happens within a temple precinct.

23 Interestingly, in literary forms which imitate speech.

24 Significantly the dedication on the Altar of the Twelve Gods, set up by Peisistratos son of Hippias in the last quarter of the sixth century BC, identifies itself (both inscription and monument?) as a *mnema*.

25 Examples from the work of other writers could as easily have been chosen.
26 This is Thucydides' justification of his practice of having characters present 'their own' points of view in set-piece speeches (*Historiae* 1.78). Characters are made to say what they ought to have said.

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